

REDISCOVERING
EASTERN CHRISTENDOM

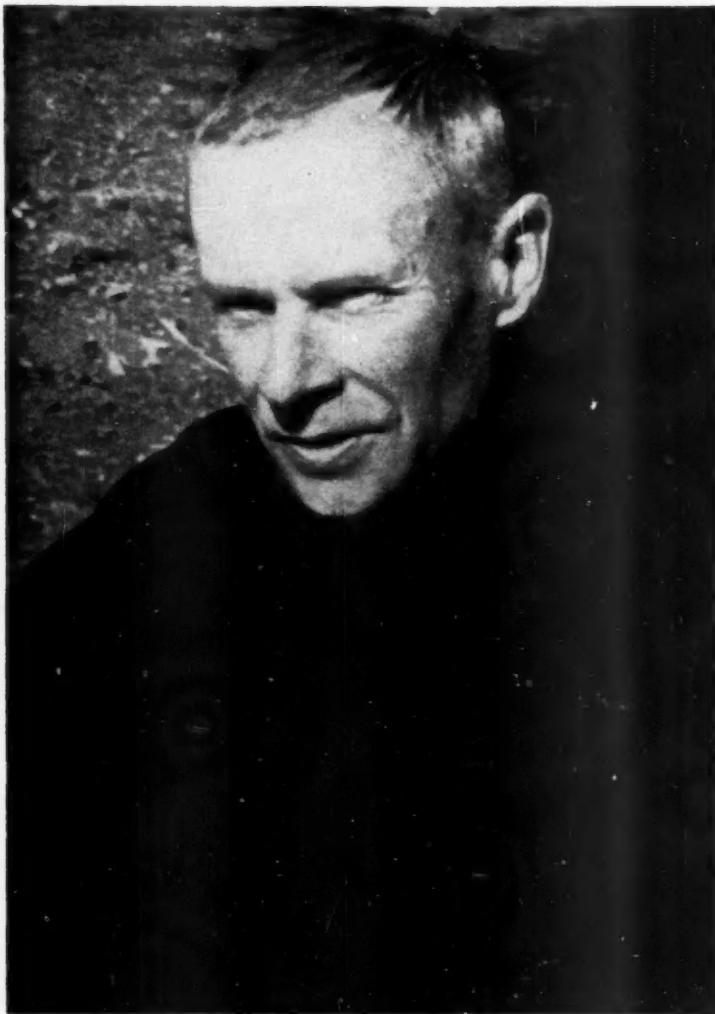
Essays in memory of Dom Bede Winslow

edited by

E. L. B. Fry & A. H. Armstrong



RE-DISCOVERING EASTERN
CHRISTENDOM



Dom Bede Winslow, taken in Hyde Park during the War. He always wore his habit in the monastery and out of it. It seemed natural to him always to appear a monk, and the Eastern tradition of the making of a monk by the giving of the 'angelic habit' rather than by vows seemed important to him.

RE-DISCOVERING EASTERN CHRISTENDOM

ESSAYS IN COMMEMORATION OF
DOM BEDE WINSLOW

Edited by
A. H. Armstrong and E. J. B. Fry



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Throughout this book, E.C.Q. stands for Eastern Churches Quarterly

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The Phocian Schism (Cambridge University Press 1948)
The Making of Central Europe (Polish Research Centre, London 1949)
The Slavs in European History and Civilization (American Academy of Arts and Science, Cambridge, Mass. 1956)
The Idea of Apostolicity in Byzantium and the Legend of St Andrew (Harvard University Press 1958)
The General Councils of the Church (Burns Oates & Washbourne. 'Faith and Fact' series 1961)

Contributed to the *Eastern Churches Quarterly*: 'Rome and Constantinople in the Ninth Century' (1939), vol. 3, pp. 409-15; 'National Churches and the Church Universal' (1943), vol. 5, pp. 172-219; 'The Study of Church History and Christian Reunion' (1945), vol. 6, pp. 17-36. (All also issued separately.)

(Ten books and monographs, and 115 studies, articles and reviews, some of them translations or offprints of articles, were listed in the bibliography contained in 'Essays dedicated to F. Dvornik on the Occasion of his Sixtieth Birthday', which also contains a biographical sketch by Prince Dimitri Obolensky and portrait. *Harvard Slavic Studies*, vol. 2, Harvard University Press, 1954).

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Basic Liturgy (Faith Press 1961)
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vol. VII, No. 2, 1947, pp. 46-54; 'The Schism—Solutions and Problems', vol. XI, No. 7, 1956, pp. 305-13; 'Reflections of an Anglican in Syria', No. 8, 1956-7, pp. 368-73

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Church and Learning in the Byzantine Empire, 867-1187 (O.U.P. 1937)

The Byzantine World (Hutchinson's University Library, London 1957)

Ascetics and Humanists in Eleventh Century Byzantium (Heffer's, Cambridge. Lecture to the Friends of Dr William's Library 1960)

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 Member of House of Laity of Church Assembly
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Life in Russia (Allen & Unwin 1947)
Russia in the Making (Allen & Unwin 1957)
A History of Russia (Farrar, Straus & Cudahy and New American
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The Hard Facts of Unity (Religious Book Club, S.C.M. Press
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Adnotationes de Verbo Incarnato, Romae (1936 and 1937)
Principles of Sacramental Theology, 2nd ed. (Longmans, London
 1960)
The Churches and the Church (Darton, Longman & Todd,
 London 1960)
 Contributed to the *Eastern Churches Quarterly*, vol. VII, no. 8,
 (1948) 'The Doctrine of the Mystical Body and Its connection
 with Ecumenical work', pp. 519-37; viii, 3, (1949), 'The
 Catholic Doctrine of Grace', pp. 42-53; xii, nos. 7 and 8,
 (1958-9), 'An Anglo-Catholic on the Recovery of Unity',
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INTRODUCTION

Dom Bede Winslow, the founder and editor for twenty-five years of the *Eastern Churches Quarterly*, was one of the pioneers of work for Christian unity in our time. That work is very much to the forefront at the present, in the Catholic Church as well as in the churches that have for some years been involved in the ecumenical movement, and it seems that he died at the very moment of the ending of one epoch and the opening of another. Tranquilly and tenaciously, he fought an often unpopular and solitary fight for the knowledge and understanding of our Christian brethren, and for the ending of a war mentality and the beginnings of an approach to unity among Christians – ‘that they all may be one’. The natural basis for what was undoubtedly a true religious vocation, was a great sympathy for Anglicanism, in which he had his own origins, and what can only be described as a ‘love-affair’ with Eastern Christianity. Everything to do with Russian, Greek and other Eastern Christianity fascinated him: its theology, liturgy, spirituality, monastic life, its art and all its ways of thinking. Yet he remained the most English of Englishmen and even, as Professor Armstrong has said, a very conservative Catholic thinker.

With his quiet personality, his simplicity, integrity and humour, he made many friends and many admirers of his tenacious work, and they have desired to pay tribute to him by this volume. Its form was suggested by Brother George Every, s.s.m., its general theme by Professor Armstrong, and if we had been able to include all those who would have liked to contribute there would have been three volumes.

Something probably needs to be said about the theme and the papers here gathered.

The book was based on the general idea of the growth of knowledge and understanding of the Christian East during the seventy years of Fr Bede’s lifetime – 1888-1959. As Professor Armstrong said, ‘if one thinks of the ideas current in 1888 on Eastern theology and liturgy, Byzantine Church, state, and art and those held to-day, one can see how valuable such a review might be’. In fact, of course, this book, from its very nature, is not a consistent review of the field. Some papers take us through the development in their own sphere, in particular Professor Hussey’s review of the development

of historical studies. Others are themselves contributions to or indications of the change that has been coming about.

No one interested in these questions will need to be told that the studies of Fr Dvornik have been one of the big seminal forces of this change in the field of history, and that Donald Attwater made one of the earliest and biggest contributions to a widespread and popular knowledge of Eastern Churches in the English-speaking world. We are delighted to have contributions from them both.

Even thirty years ago Byzantine history was entirely ignored in the European history of an English university curriculum. It was then largely taken for granted that the Byzantine East had no more to offer than a thousand years of fossilization in its theology, philosophy, learning, religious and political forms, and the arts. The few historical scholars we have today of an older generation had doggedly to follow a lone path in their early studies.

Similarly in art, the first serious international exhibition of Byzantine art took place in Paris only in 1931, and the real 'fashion' for it may be said to have arisen since the last war. Earlier a few enthusiasts and scholars were preparing the ground. Now eikons are the mode, and Serbian and Greek monasteries are a tourist attraction to which Sunday paper travel-writers dedicate articles. In the late nineteenth century and for long after, 'Byzantine' merely meant stiff and hieratic and probably bad. Of course much less of it was then known. The Santa Sophia and Kariel Djami mosaics had not begun to reappear in Constantinople, nor the wall-paintings in Serbia. There was almost no study of MSS. illuminations or eikons from Greece, Russia and the other Byzantine countries. The Athens Byzantine Museum was only begun in 1914 and did not have a separate building and full development till about 1930. The Benaki Museum, with its Byzantine section, was opened in 1931, the Coptic Museum in Cairo in 1908, but it too owes its development to a later period. Even the Soviet régime has now contributed by its fine work in restoration and publication. Of course one of the great popularizers of Byzantine art for our highly eclectic age has been the new high standard of colour reproduction, together with easy travel. Yet even today there are guide books that label any stiff panel picture 'Byzantine', though this attitude is disappearing fast. We are very sorry it has not been possible to include any paper on Byzantine art, though Professor Hussey touches on the subject.

The same applies to the appreciation of oriental Christian music, but that is still in an earlier stage of development than the apprecia-

tion of Byzantine art. For one thing it is less accessible to the general public, for another many people still think of 19th century St Petersburg imperial chapel music as representative of the Orthodox Church, and certainly the Western ear would not in general find the chant readily accessible to its understanding, though to some of us it is enormously impressive and attractive. Here too, however, there has been a tremendous advance. There was the all-important re-deciphering of the Byzantine notation by Prof. Egon Wellesz and H. J. W. Tillyard from 1916 onwards, and the fruits of their collaboration from 1927, which opened a whole new musical world, and led to the publication of the Danish (from 1935) and American (from 1941) series of the *Monumenta Musicae Byzantinae*, publications of musical texts from Greek manuscripts. There has been as well the work of a number of enthusiasts and scholars in the revival of the earlier Greek and also the earlier Slavonic chant, and the beginning of the spread of its use.

As far as liturgy is concerned there is a fairly long history of scholarship on the subject, but the growth of experimental knowledge of Eastern rites in the rest of the world since the first world war is quite revolutionary. There were Greek communities and churches in London and elsewhere dating from the emigrations during the 19th century Turkish persecutions, but the decisive factor is undoubtedly the Russian diaspora after the revolution. This brought big Orthodox communities into the heart of the West, with a full church life, and made Paris, especially, a tremendously vital centre of Orthodoxy. In England, Catholics in particular have been even more affected by the second world war, which has given us big Ukrainian and Byelo-Russian communities, and even, in the person of Mgr Sipovitch, a bishop.¹ Interest in Eastern Churches is no longer rarified and remote here. A Byzantine liturgy, Greek or Slavonic, can be attended any Sunday in London and other centres, so that we Latins can begin to realize that the Catholic Church has not that uniformity which we were sometimes taught to see as a merit, but is far more rich and varied, a church of all the ages and many traditions.

In the United States and Canada there has been such large-scale immigration that there are now well-organized communities of every nation and church, race and rite of Eastern Christendom.

Moreover, and this is a big factor, the enormous impact of Soviet

¹ And now in 1962 a Ukrainian bishop, Mgr Hornyak.

Russia and its atheist policies and persecution of Christians has brought the Russian Orthodox Church to the notice of the whole world.

But besides the forcible contacts brought about by the various waves of refugees and emigrations, there are of course all the deliberate Christian contacts, and, in particular, the increasing crescendo of the ecumenical movement, the serious discussions of the World Council of Churches, and now many of the contacts associated with the Second Vatican Council. Some of the papers in this book deal with these matters: Fr Florovsky discusses some of the problems involved; Mr Lawrence speaks of Anglican and Orthodox relations; Mlle Posnoff tells what Russian Catholics have done for unity; and Fr Leeming, among much else in an important paper, speaks of the Orthodox contribution in St Andrews in 1960.

We have also included a paper on an eirenic approach to Islam, the neighbour and traditional 'enemy' of Eastern Christianity, but, apart from Judaism, the only other great monotheistic religion in the world.

E.J.B.F.

I

MEMOIR OF DOM BEDE WINSLOW¹

by E. J. B. Fry

Keith F. E. Winslow² was born in Putney on May 27th, 1888 in an Anglican family with army traditions. He was one of three brothers and was sent to King's College School, by then moved from the Strand to Wimbledon. His father is said to have had cranky ideas about education, and one of the forms they took was to refuse to allow his sons to be taught Latin, which was to be a great handicap later, when he had, as a young monk, to study it. However, he had no ear for language in any case, nor for singing either. His reading of Latin often went astray. His French was even more notable by its absence. Yet he achieved in the *Eastern Churches Quarterly* a work of international character, and had a multiplicity of contacts of every nationality. The most surprising people, never before known to talk English, were found to be able to communicate in it – a sort of gift of tongues in reverse: all men could speak his tongue. It was one of the many instances of a strong and enduring interest and clear vocation for a work achieving remarkable results, for which the equipment was not apparently commensurate.

I believe that his mother, as a widow, moved the family to the Isle of Wight, which Fr Bede always considered as his county. Together with Thanet it shared his local loyalties. He had a real love of the great curves, openness and the particular opalesque light of chalk country, a feeling for this kind of English countryside, and of course he loved the country churches and cathedrals and in later years liked taking opportunities to say his office in them.

In the Isle of Wight he and his nearest brother, Cuthbert, seem to have been in many ways typical of the Anglo-Catholic pious young

¹ Originally a paper read to the *E.C.Q.* group.

² His signature to reviews will sometimes be found as K.F.E.W. in the *E.C.Q.*

men of the period. They made a room in their house into a chapel and induced the local clergy to hold services there. They also began going regularly to Vespers at Appledurcombe, before the Solesmes monks moved to Quarr, but, when both decided to become Catholics, were determined to be instructed by an English priest, not by any of 'these foreigners', especially French. Right to the end of his life Fr Bede retained this curious mixture of insularity and internationalism. So the brothers came to London and were instructed and received at the Oratory in 1910.³ Before becoming a Catholic Fr Bede seems to have known enough of Orthodoxy to have seriously considered becoming an Orthodox.

Once a Catholic he thought of entering the Servites, but was dissuaded by the Oratorian who received him. He spent a year living at Ampleforth before entering at Ramsgate in 1912 or early 1913. Some time after his entry he had to come out, very deeply to his regret, to look after his mother for a year, after which arrangements were made for her, allowing him to return to start all over again, on January 19th, 1914, and be clothed on March 24th.⁴ He was professed on April 21st, 1915. Unlike most of his contemporaries, he was not sent to Subiaco, the mother house of his congregation, for his studies, owing to his lack of languages and his late start, but studied at home. Archbishop, then Bishop, Amigo, who valued his worth, ordained him on August 24th, 1922, at St Leonard's, with a big group of Jesuits, amongst whom he appeared in a contemporary photograph looking almost exactly the same as he did to the end of his life.

Right from the beginning his interest – much more, his vocation – was to pray and work for unity in any way he could, primarily, of course by his monastic and liturgical life. As a young priest he thought he might best work for it in a strictly contemplative life, and obtained permission to try his vocation as a Carthusian, quietly, without it being made generally known. He was happy at Parkminster, and loved the solitude and particularly saying office alone in his cell and Mass privately. Afterwards, however, he felt that in this he had had too individualist an approach, and that Mass should always be a community act, and that in the monastery a single conventional Mass, as at Maria Laach, was the ideal. Mass, he thought,

³ This brother, Cuthbert, was killed in the first world war, after entering at the newly converted monastery on Caldey Island.

⁴ All these dates have been kindly supplied by Dom Cuthbert Smitl, who himself entered one week earlier on January 12th, 1914.

should always have the community of Christians together making the one offering, as the Church's insistence on the presence of a server, at least, to represent the faithful, shows to be her mind. He stayed at Parkminster some months, but the superiors then decided that it was not his vocation, and afterwards he saw that this was true.

Back at Ramsgate, apart from his monastic life, he did much other work, teaching in the prep school, being curate and visiting in the parish, and being guest-master from 1922 until his death except during certain absences from the monastery. Over a period of years, he was, unlikely as this may seem, a highly successful R.A.F. chaplain at Manston in Thanet, bicycling to and fro. He achieved this success, very characteristically, by always being himself, in any circumstances, as A. M. Sefi has commented.⁵ He just was there, available. 'I read my papers and books there instead of in my room,' he said, and men came and talked. The Anglican chaplain said that Fr Bede knew his men better than he did himself. When his time came to change jobs, a great petition was sent to the abbot that he should not be withdrawn, and the men wanted to present him with a gold watch, but were persuaded that this was not suitable as a monastic possession. I believe he always wore the inscribed watch they did give him.

He was also in charge for a period of two or three years in the mid-1930s of the parish of Minster-in-Thanet where St Mildred lived and died, and he is responsible for much of the revival of devotion to St Mildred in the annual pilgrimage procession and in other ways and helped to bring back some of the relics of St Mildred. Later it was he who, by one of his famous scrawled postcards, made the link that brought the Benedictine nuns back to Minster Abbey when a group of nuns from Eichstätt in Bavaria recolonized it in 1937. He had first written to all the Benedictine houses in England both of men and women. More recently it was he who negotiated the return from Deventer in Holland of a further relic to be enshrined in the abbey. He had a very deep personal devotion to St Mildred and if he asked her for anything, he was liable to get it. But then, as an old friend of his once said, 'All his requests, even the most outrageous, seemed to be granted by heaven with the minimum of fuss.' This comment comes from one of a family who lived in Ramsgate whose friendship he had for three generations.

⁵ In *Chrysostom*, 1960.

There are, in fact, innumerable families for whom Fr Bede was part of their life, where he married, baptized, blessed their houses, let their children climb over him, and turned up to meals, preceded by one of his laconic postcards. He had the capacity for walking in and being at home amongst people who did not share his Eastern Churches interest – 'Fr Bede's Mars', as they called Mar Ivanios and other Indian bishops and oriental clergy.

Fr Bede also had a close link with the Assumption convent in Ramsgate, and a considerable appreciation of the liturgical and balanced spirit of their order. He had visited their convents in Madrid, and at Ramsgate knew generations of nuns and girls, each of which is said to have felt that it was his chief interest. Until the last year of his life he was still giving Benediction and hearing confessions there, not to mention being enthralled by a children's serial on television which he watched with the school on Saturdays! He went to their plays and concerts, and took an interested part in all the adult 'Residential Weeks' that have taken place there in the summer in recent years, helping, for instance, to arrange a Byzantine Liturgy, sung by as many as possible of the participants.

In 1936 he was sent for two years to the little Anglican community at Frensham which had become Catholic, as novice master, and chaplain to the boys. It was to be a community of Benedictine Oblates, and, like Ramsgate, came within the Southwark diocese. It was a school for high-grade mental-defectives at the time, and he was as much a success with them as with other children. I once went to their annual circus and the clowns performed for him and the dragon's head rampaged over the barrier to greet him. While he was there he probably had more time for the development of the *Eastern Churches Quarterly*, and he was certainly able to get up to London more often for meetings of the St John Chrysostom Society, the Anglican and Eastern Churches Association, the Fellowship of St Alban and Sergius, and on other occasions.

When he left Frensham he went immediately as parish priest to Westgate, in succession to Abbot Upson when the latter became abbot of Prinknash. After that he returned to St Augustine's Abbey for good, and became guest-master again, and chaplain to one or other of the convents. After the war, he was quasi-curate at Broadstairs, where he spent Sundays, saying the late Mass and taking part in the evening service, sometimes acting as parish priest during the illnesses of the regular parish priest, and sharing the visiting. During one such period he was able to have a Slavonic Mass in the parish

church on a Sunday and telephoned, commandeering all my then guests in Canterbury as a choir. He also did a good deal of instructing of converts, of whom he is said to have received 150 into the Catholic Church. This, of course, only represents those people who came to him where he lived, and not the considerable number who came to him in the first instance, but, living in other parts, were directed by him to other priests. He also gave many retreats for nuns, day retreats for the *E.C.Q.* group, and an annual retreat at Tonford Manor near Canterbury between 1947 and 1954. In fact his would have been a full life if his main work were left out. His abbot once said that Fr Bede could always be relied upon to carry out to the end any job given to him.

But from the time of the founding of the Society of St John Chrysostom in the late nineteen-twenties his work for unity, especially in the East, gathered momentum. He was interested in the Society's work and its possibilities and was always on its committee. He gave several sets of lectures for it, and always wanted it to have a periodical. He often said that it was only when the society failed to produce one that he decided to try to do something himself, and so the *E.C.Q.* was born.

For four years it had the hospitality of a quarterly number of *Pax*, then the monthly of the Prinkash Benedictines, until in 1936 its first independent issues appeared. He founded it with a legacy from his mother, and managed to keep it going all through the war years as well, with no regular financial backing, and many financial crises, during which he sent out urgent requests for prayers; but it did continue, trimming its sails sometimes (by double numbers, or by less expensive paper) with remarkable regularity up to his death in October 1959. At that time he left it sounder than ever before, due to the world-wide interest in such matters. The United States and Canada, where Fr Bede had managed the first introduction of the *E.C.Q.* with much pain and labour, by then accounted for over half the subscribers.

Abbot Taylor has written⁶ that it was 'with much bewilderment' that he first heard that Fr Bede was going to devote himself to Eastern Churches, a work for which he seemed unsuited by education and experience, but that 'he surprised everyone – not least his brethren at Ramsgate – by the ease with which he equipped himself, by study and social contacts, for his new sphere'. He read

⁶ *Pax*, Spring 1960.

everything that was to be found in English of the history, liturgy, theology of the Eastern Churches, and obtained from others material in other languages. Patristic literature was his native world. He had not much use for any other spiritual literature, unless an occasional book steeped in patristic thought. Whenever he had the opportunity he assisted at a Byzantine liturgy, and opportunities in the nineteen-twenties and thirties were more uncommon than now. But Fr Wilcock and Fr Ryder (now in North and South America), two Jesuits of Slavonic rite, who must have been responsible for introducing many English Catholics to the existence of Eastern Christianity, were in England during the later nineteen-thirties, and one of the most valuable contributions of the Society of St John Chrysostom during that period was the sung liturgies it organized at the church of St Anselm and Cecilia, Kingsway, and other churches, to which Fr Bede always rejoiced to come.

A majority of his holidays were spent at Amay, later Chevetogne, where he attended and communicated in the Slavonic rite daily. He was once for a week in a Riviera town where he found an Eastern church and attended it daily. He did everything he could to soak himself in knowledge and understanding of the Orthodox and Catholic Eastern Churches, which he loved, and to have clear information about them. He retained a remarkably clear picture of the multiplicity of Orthodox and dissident Eastern Churches, and the very numerous groups of Catholics of Eastern rite.

His annual visit to Amay-Chevetogne was certainly a great refreshment to him, to be among people who all had the same interests, because that was certainly his lack here in England. Dom Clement Lialine, who for long edited *Irénicon*, was the person he was most glad to talk with, and his closest friend in ecumenical circles, and his death was a serious loss to Fr Bede individually as well as to work for unity in general.

But his 'contacts', a favourite word of his, were innumerable, and both increased his knowledge and understanding and aided his work. He always said, with typical modesty, that his job was to be a liaison officer, and there was a great deal of truth in it, though he underestimated his own contribution. This was why, when he gave a talk, he read aloud long passages from other writers – and reading aloud was never his gift – because he was so sure that everyone else was more valuable and carried more weight than he did.

He met every Orthodox and other Eastern Christian that he could in England and Belgium, and, more rarely, Paris, Holland,

and Rome. He was capable of going to Rome and of excluding everything but the barest minimum of 'Holy Year visits' for the benefit of '*E.C.Q.* contacts', a single-mindedness of which few are capable. Yet he never set foot in an Orthodox country, which represented a sort of unseen and idealized Mecca. This was a serious loss to him and his work. Emigré communities and pro-Oriental Westerners are not the best people from whom to form one's impressions. Again he overcame the handicap to a remarkable extent, but it does account for a slightly unreal idealizing, of Russia in particular, that ran through his thought, at least in the early days.⁷

His 'contacts' went far beyond physical meetings. His correspondence was enormous. People all over the globe knew his large, sprawling handwriting, every few words underlined, and with idiosyncratic spelling. Yet he answered letters immediately, as if he had nothing else to do. He was in touch, through individuals he had never met, with what was going on in most near-Eastern countries. It was quite a personal 'International Information Service'. In 1937 I went to Greece, Constantinople, Palestine, the Lebanon and Egypt with introductions from him, which opened the doors everywhere: patriarchs, bishops, abbots, leaders of new religious movements, Franciscans, Benedictines, Jesuits, old English majors living in Coptic villages. I once had the uncanny experience of producing the addressed envelope of one of his letters in a street in Jerusalem in order to discover directions from an Orthodox priest, presumably Greek or Arabic speaking, whom I met. He promptly replied, 'Oh yes, Dom Bede Winslow's handwriting'. During this tour in 1937 it was impressive to see where the *E.C.Q.* had already penetrated, the value set upon it, and perhaps above all – and I have seen this again lately – the great value of the chronicle of events in *News*

⁷ Bro. George Every, s.s.m., has suggested that Fr Bede was never romantic about ecumenical work, that there was always something earthy, and down-to earth in his approach; but that what he sensed about Orthodox countries was that in their peasant culture there is a more thorough integration of liturgy and life, which we have largely lost in the West; that he might have exaggerated about the extent to which this was true, due to lack of first-hand knowledge, but that he was reaching after something essentially valid. I am sure that it is true that his love of Eastern liturgies and his feeling that they interpenetrated Eastern Christian life more thoroughly than ours does in the 20th century, was at the heart of his attraction. Nevertheless I think that there was, under the undemonstrative exterior, a bit of a love-affair with Eastern Christianity, though this was not romantic in the whimsy and ephemeral sense.

and Notes, how grateful these Eastern Christian communities are that what is happening to them is being made known to Western Christians. And as Fr Gill, s.j. at the Oriental Institute in Rome has said, 'The *Eastern Churches Quarterly* is unique in the English-speaking world.'

As well as this chronicle of events, he collected for the *E.C.Q.* articles of great variety and varying value, but, considering all things, the standard was high, and many have been catalogued as of permanent value to Byzantine scholars. There were detailed studies of Eastern liturgies, studies of the theology of the Fathers, studies of great problems that divide or unite us with the Eastern churches, studies of Eastern iconography, biographies, obituaries, and book reviews and always, even in the leanest years, photographic illustrations, that, together with the good print and paper and familiar blue cover made it one of the pleasantest journals to handle. A file of the *E.C.Q.* remains a mine of information, an astonishing achievement even in easier circumstances than existed for such interests until recent years.

As an editor he had, however, one great gift, that of being able to make people work for him, a combination of friendliness and ruthlessness, where *E.C.Q.* interests were concerned, that almost always worked. At one of his *E.C.Q.* Conferences at Oxford, one speaker after another rose to his feet and said that he had 'not really been in a position to give a paper now, but when Fr Bede came along with that charming smile, what could you do?' His abbot used to find books on his doorstep with notes, 'Please will you review this by Tuesday?', and I know I have often been left no alternative to producing a translation from French in two days' time whether ill or busy or not. I am sure almost all his acquaintances in any way concerned with the problems of unity could multiply examples. In his mind, the *E.C.Q.* certainly stood for a cause and a community of 'like-minded people', the '*E.C.Q.* Group', and not just a quarterly review.⁸

Besides the *E.C.Q.* itself and private study circles, very much 'part of the *E.C.Q.*', which continued for the last twenty years of his life, Fr Bede organized from 1944 to 1948 an annual three day conference at Blackfriars in Oxford. These conferences were of quite outstanding merit, as the printed papers remain to testify. The first conferences contained miscellaneous papers, but the last three

* I have just found a note written by Fr Bede on a prayer card in 1938, '*E.C.Q.* Group founded at Mass this morning'.

were on 'Tradition and Scripture', 'The Holy Spirit' and 'Nature and Grace'. The papers were by Catholic, Orthodox and Anglican theologians – Catholics such as Père Bouyer, Congr. Orat., Père Paul Henry, s.j., Frs Gervase Mathew, Victor White, and Richard Kehoe, o.p., Fr Leeming and Fr Bevenot, s.j. from Heythrop, Dom Clement Lialine and Dom Aelred Graham, and Professor Armstrong; Orthodox such as Fr Florovsky, Professor Lossky and Professor Gorodetzky; Anglicans such as Fr Hebert, Fr Thornton, Fr Curtis and Canon Mascall. It was quite a galaxy.

Apart from conferences and meetings which he himself organized in whole or in part, Fr Bede attended and often spoke at various meetings whether of societies, often Anglican, concerned with 'reunion', or the 'occasional' meeting such as one in the late forties at Canterbury when the Archbishop of Canterbury presided and an Anglican and a non-conformist also spoke. He was able to go to all the recent International Patristic Conferences at Oxford. Many of us saw him for the last time in fleeting glimpses amongst the hundreds who were in Oxford for the conference in September, 1959. All these meetings and conferences were immensely useful to him for making and keeping contacts and planning further work. Editorial consultations of the *E.C.Q.* were among the many peripatetic conferences within a conference which went on that September between Christchurch and the 'Schools' and the coffee houses, all round Oxford.

Besides the external work of editing, writing, organizing, attending meetings, during the late 1930s and early war years Fr Bede began to hope that it might be possible to found a monastery in England for work for unity. It was to be exclusively Latin, unlike Amay – he never really believed in Westerners taking or using Eastern rites, apart from exceptional cases of a very deep vocation. It was to work primarily by the Benedictine means of a liturgical and contemplative and laborious life – it was to be an agricultural community. Secondarily it was to work through hospitality and be the source of the *E.C.Q.*, and a centre of ecumenical interest and information. For various reasons, lack of the right personnel, funds, and probably the right personal qualities for this work, quite different from his actual achievement, it never came off, but no account of Fr Bede's life is complete without mentioning it. It preoccupied his mind and filled his correspondence for several years, and must be taken as the model of how he really believed that work for unity could best be done.

Everyone who has written of Fr Bede has spoken of his tenacity and his imperturbability. Of his imperturbability Dom Cuthbert Smith has written⁹ that in forty-five years of seeing him daily in the monastery he never once saw him ruffled or ill-tempered, and probably no one else did either, though he went through difficulties at certain periods that would have perturbed most people. His tenacity was a sort of enduring loyalty to his vocation, Christian, monastic, and ecumenical, just as he was unwaveringly loyal to his Church, his bishop, his abbot and monastery and his friends.

To these two qualities should be added his complete modesty, his humility; and I think all three, though they had their basis in his natural character, came from a strong sense that work for unity was God's work, and our Lady's (in the Church of England particularly), and that, as he was always saying, the Holy Ghost would work things out. These 'things' we now witness; for instance the return of the Easter vigil, always one of his hopes, but primarily the enormous increase of interest and activity in the Church and amongst all Christians, about Christian unity. He never felt that one needed to fuss about temporary setbacks or rebuffs, which were very local and minor occurrences in the bigger movement of history, divinely interpenetrated by the work of the Spirit, gathering mankind in unity in the body of Christ.

⁹ *Pax*, Spring, 1960.

THE EARLY DAYS OF THE E.C.Q.

by Donald Attwater

WHEN and where did I first meet Dom Bede Winslow? I cannot remember. It may well have been on that historic occasion when Father Vladimir Abrikosov, with concelebrants from Amay, sang the Byzantine Liturgy in Westminster Cathedral, and a series of meetings was held in the adjoining hall to encourage interest in the Christian East. I call this an historic occasion because it was the first, and the most outstandingly successful, of the 'public appearances' of the Society of St John Chrysostom, which was so active from 1926 to 1939 and has recently been revived. Certainly I must have met Father Bede before 1931, for it was in January of that year that the *Eastern Churches Quarterly* (not yet so called) took its first infant steps.

But if I am hazy about exact time and place, it is perhaps because I feel that I have known Father Bede all my life; such was the impression he made on me that, although as I write it is over twelve months since he was taken from us and some years since I saw him last, he still seems an unchanging part of my background. Not that my face-to-face contacts with him were continuous over those thirty years or so: from 1934 till 1939 we saw a good deal of one another; but after that, with for most of the time the width of southern England between us, I took a less and less active part in *E.C.Q.* and we met only at long intervals. However, we were in pretty constant touch, exchanging letters on matters of common concern; sometimes I would send a hurried postcard praising — or blaming — some article or comment he had printed; and he would reply in kind; when it was a matter of adverse criticism, never failing to adduce a reason for publication which, if not always wholly convincing, at least made me think again. And at any moment there would come from him an imperious demand for a book review, an

obituary, a note on this or that, always at the shortest notice: occasionally I had to dig in my heels and refuse, but he never took it amiss or pressed for compliance.

Father Bede was fully aware of how much we owed to the monks of Prinknash, who so generously put at our disposal a half or more of their review *Pax* four times a year (in those days *Pax* was a monthly). That arrangement lasted for exactly five years (1931-1935), twenty issues in all. In the first of those numbers, the editor of *Pax* remarked that to devote so much of its small space to one subject, the Christian East, entailed an appreciable sacrifice. 'Nevertheless,' he went on, 'we believe it one well worth making, and since it is an axiom of the spiritual life that all good work needs sacrifice, the fact that our new departure costs something is, from the highest point of view, an asset and a good augury for the future'. I hope and believe that that sacrifice and service were amply justified, for had it not been for the kind gesture of the Prinknash Benedictines, the beginning of the *Eastern Churches Quarterly* itself might have been delayed indefinitely (though no one who knew Father Bede's determination would suggest it might never have been born at all).

These Eastern numbers of *Pax* included contributions from several people who afterwards became regular writers in or otherwise active supporters of *E.C.Q.* Among them were J. W. McPherson, the first of our excellent correspondents in the Levant; Count George Bennigsen, whose long experience as a Russian Orthodox was sometimes offered as a salutary brake on Father Bede's enthusiasm; Father Charles (Vassily) Bourgeois, our earliest friend among the Jesuits of Byzantine rite; and Dom Benedict Morrison, one of the Subiaco Benedictines then teaching in the Syrian seminary at Jerusalem.

Already, too, well-known scholars were manifesting their goodwill towards Father Bede's venture by writing articles or giving permission for translations. Father de La Taille was the first; then there were Prince Max of Saxony, Metropolitan Szeptycky, Father Venance Grumel (whose thoughts on general councils subsequent to the seventh are of special interest to-day), Father Austin Treamer, then in Rumania, Father Ronald Pilkington, then in Italy, and Father Cyril Korolevsky, that stormy petrel who gave us so much encouragement and help. Towards the end of the series (Nos. 159, 165, 168) appeared the first short articles on Eastern theology, by Dom Ralph Russell on the teaching of St John Damascene, and

Dom Romanus Rios on St Cyril of Jerusalem and the Holy Eucharist; and in No. 135 were printed the first communications from Orthodox theologians, two letters to Father Bede from Professor J. Bratsiotis and Professor N. Trembelas, both referring to, among other matters, the irritation caused in Greece by 'uniat proselytism'. At this early stage, then, Father Bede was already becoming known and making an impression, and the News and Comments sections show how wide and varied his contacts already were.

The present volume contains a memoir of Father Bede's life and character, and I should want neither to add to nor subtract from what it says. But I will say this, that it seems to me that it makes a very acute observation when it attributes to Dom Bede Winslow 'a bit of a love-affair for Eastern Christianity'. Indeed, I think that that was the 'secret' of, the ultimate clue to his activities. He could never be mistaken for anything but an Englishman, he was almost defiantly English, and not a few Englishmen, famous or obscure, have had love-affairs with the Near East in one or other of its aspects and lands. Father Bede's love was different from theirs and for different things, but he was in the tradition. In the last of the *Pax* Eastern numbers he wrote: 'Oriental Christians do not connect England with the Catholic Church, and the average English Catholic knows nothing of the Eastern churches, whether Catholic or dissident. An instructed English Catholic opinion, whether amongst those at home or those residing in the East, would be of the greatest possible use in the cause of reunion'. That instructed opinion he devoted himself to doing something to bring about; but to do this he had first to be instructed himself, to know what he loved: 'The lover strives to inquire intimately into all that pertains to the beloved, and thus to penetrate within, as it is said of the Holy Spirit, who is the love of God, that he searches the deep things of God'. Again in a different sense from Burton or Doughty or Philby, Father Bede was an 'explorer'.

I do not believe for a minute that, had he known Christianity at first hand as it exists in the Levant or Greece or Russia, as well as he knew Christianity on Manston aerodrome and in the Isle of Thanet, it would have made the slightest difference to his love, unless to increase it. Love bears all things, believes, hopes, endures all things. By the same token, Miss Fry refers to his tenacity and imperturbability, tells us how he did not fuss about setbacks or rebuffs (he did not fuss about anything), but kept the eyes of his heart fixed on

the Holy Spirit, ever at work upon mankind to gather all into the unity of Christ's body. He never wavered in his consciousness that there is no room for discouragement, much less for despair, at the spectacle of Christian disunity and human disorder — Christ is risen.

In the third of the *Pax* Eastern numbers there was printed a review article by Abbot Chapman of *The Validity of Anglican Ordinations* by the Orthodox archbishop of Athens, Chrysostom Papadopoulos, and from time to time thereafter, *E.C.Q.* published articles concerning the Church of England and about the Ecumenical Movement in the technical sense. At first I opposed this, on the ground, chiefly, that we were concerned with the Eastern churches and ought to keep strictly to them. As I got to know Father Bede better my objections dissolved. Long before the words 'dialogue' and 'ecumenical' came into common use (and misuse), Father Bede was one of those Catholics who, quietly and doggedly, with a studious avoidance of any publicity, was following the path of personal *rapprochement* with non-Catholics. He got about 'everywhere' and met 'everybody', and he realized that *rapprochement* could not be, must not be, confined to the members of any particular Christian communion.

The opportunities provided by such centres as St Basil's House and such occasions as conferences of the Fellowship of St Alban and St Sergius are obvious, and he took full advantage of them. But no less valuable were the 'unorganized' and casual contacts for which he was always on the look-out; Anglicans and others have testified to the impression made by this Roman Catholic priest, so quiet, so courteous, so un-selfconscious, humble and yet confident, so firm in his Catholicity, so wide in his sympathies and understanding. He made them, and others, realize the force of the question put by the Coptic patriarch Demetrios to the bearer of Pius IX's invitation to attend the first Vatican Council: 'How can we ever understand each other if we do not meet one another?'¹

And so it came about that, on October 31st, 1959, it was an Anglican clergyman who traipsed across the town to tell me sadly that Dom Bede Winslow was dead. Bede would have been pleased by that.

¹ See *Irénikon*, vi (1929), p. 660. The whole article, 'Le concile du Vatican et l'Union', by Dom Franco de Wyels, is of great topical interest; vol. vi, pp. 366 ff., 488 ff., 655 ff.

ORTHODOX-CATHOLIC RELATIONS

by Bernard Leeming

I MUST apologize to readers for my rashness in attempting to say anything on this subject, for I know just enough about our Orthodox brothers to be acutely aware that real understanding requires great knowledge, and together with knowledge, sensitivity in entering into the Orthodox spirit and ethos, which can only come through the most intimate contact, and, I had almost said, by becoming Orthodox oneself.

One of my reasons for attempting this paper is my desire to participate, even in an inadequate way, in our tribute to Dom Bede Winslow. There were Catholics who inclined to think that Dom Bede was a bit 'starry-eyed' on the question of reunion. A most adequate answer to this is in the bound copies of the *Eastern Churches Quarterly*, for any serious student will find in them information not to be found elsewhere. Dom Bede had initiative, and, combined with his gentleness, a forceful persistence, a large-mindedness in finding people who, in one way or another, could help in the great cause, a very acute perception of the kind of thing that would permanently help the cause, and, above all, the fortitude which perseveres in spite of all difficulties and discouragements. May his work follow him, and may this gathering carry on his work with no less initiative, large-mindedness and fortitude.¹

Another reason for undertaking this paper is my sincere and deep respect and affection for our Orthodox brethren. For centuries they endured the most savage and persistent persecution; and, of recent times, they have had turned against them the resources of Communistic propaganda and power. Yet they kept the Christian faith. This has been attributed, under God, to two causes: – first, the

¹ This paper is an expansion of that originally read in 1961 at the Eastern Churches Week-end at Spode House, Hawkesyard Priory, Staffs.

'home-church', consisting in the icon before which the family pray regularly, and second, the spirit of martyrdom, which exists not only among monks and clergy, but among the simple faithful. And the Orthodox have preserved a spirit of gentleness, an absence of resentment or of bitterness. These things spring from their 'Tradition', which from a theological point of view may be difficult to define in exact terms, but which is a reality actually experienced.

My respect for the Orthodox was greatly increased by attendance at the meetings of the Faith and Order Commission, and of the Central Committee, of the World Council of Churches in August, 1960, at St Andrews, Scotland. The Orthodox perhaps spoke more frequently than the members of any other individual group; and not a single Orthodox said a word with which a Catholic could disagree, and often they called attention to matters which the Protestant members overlooked or under-emphasized. I list under headings, for clearness, some of the subjects on which the Orthodox spoke:

1. They more than once denied, though most courteously, the underlying assumption made by some individuals in the World Council, that the unity of the Church does not now exist. In this they agree with us, although indeed they hold that the Orthodox Church alone has the unity which Christ wills.

In an introduction to a symposium, entitled *Orthodoxy*, published by the Faith and Order Commission, Dr Keith Bridston begins as follows:

'Orthodoxy is the Church of Christ on earth.' So Father Sergius Bulgakov begins his book on *The Orthodox Church*. It is a commendable opening sentence. It gives fair warning to the reader. It suggests the greatness of the subject and the difficulty of defining it, both well worth keeping in mind whenever Orthodoxy is discussed. Bulgakov is no less frank with us in his penultimate chapters where he works out the implications of his thesis for Christian unity: 'Hence proceeds the attitude of the Orthodox towards other confessions, separated, immediately or not, from the unity of the Church; it can desire but one thing, that is to make Orthodox the entire Christian world.'²

This is a bit disconcerting for most Protestants, who incline to views which admit that the Church is broken, in one way or another, into fragments which it is the ecumenical task to unite (though this is by no means an assumption of the World Council, as the presence

² Sergius Bulgakov, *The Orthodox Church*, English translation, London, p. 9, 213.

of the Orthodox within it amply demonstrates). It is, however, a definite point of agreement between the Orthodox and Catholics. Each holds that the promises of Christ about the preservation of his Church cannot fail and that the unity of Christ's Church has never been lost, however much it may have been injured by schisms and heresies. The 'intransigence' of Rome is matched by the intransigence of the Orthodox, though perhaps in the case of the latter the appearance of harshness is softened by the fact that they have no central organ of authority.

2. They asserted that Tradition is an essential guide in all questions of the Church's nature and of the faith. Fr Georges Florovsky gave a pungent answer to the suggestion that Tradition is merely a means of interpreting Scripture: 'Is the Holy Spirit only an exegete?' And he added that 'the Word of God is the believing Church.'

The same was affirmed by the Armenian theologian Vardapet Karekin Sarkissian in an article in the *Ecumenical Review*: 'Faith or doctrine is not truth on paper, or formulae in creeds and conciliar decrees or canons, but something living, faith lived or doctrine professed in the permanent experience of the Church's life as a whole; in other words "Orthodoxia".'³

It was perhaps in accord with this feeling that several of the Orthodox spoke against what they called 'sophistication' and 'intellectualization' in our approach to unity; they stressed the simple faithful and their needs and stressed the element of 'holiness'.

3. Several of the Orthodox remarked that the sacramental, and even the supernatural, element was omitted in some statements of the W.C.C., or in handbooks on religion.

4. Fr Florovsky took strong exception to a passing remark which seemed to suggest that reverence for icons approached idolatry. The seventh general council, Nicaea II, in 787, is very much part of the Orthodox Tradition.

5. On contraception, the Orthodox took exactly the same position as do Catholics, though they did not enter into any details about methods of family limitation. Archimandrite Timiadis (now Bishop), Fr Florovsky and Bishop John of San Francisco insisted that marriage is a sacrament.

6. On the question of 'intercommunion' the Orthodox expressed themselves even forcibly. Fr Florovsky declared that any change

³ 'The Ecumenical Problem in Eastern Christendom', *Ecumenical Review* xii, n. 4, July 1960. I owe this reference to Dr. Bridston.

from the Lund decisions, which left the matter to the discretion of the churches and excluded any action by the W.C.C., 'would be a violation of ecumenical liberty. It is contrary to the faith and canonical discipline of the Orthodox Church.'

These are merely snippets, but they indicate a certain kinship of outlook between the Orthodox and Catholics, which, however, ought to be neither minimized, nor exaggerated. In passing, I record that one of the Russian 'observers' at St Andrews has an excellent knowledge of Russian history. When we met and he learned that I was a Jesuit, he at once said: 'Then you ought to pray for Russia every day, for when your Pope suppressed you, our Queen supported you.' In fact, Queen Catherine of Russia refused to allow entry into Russia of the papal Bull of suppression of the Jesuits.

GENERAL CHARACTERISTICS OF ORTHODOXY

There have been many brief accounts of the main characteristics of Orthodoxy, but here I make special reference to three accounts given in the *Faith and Order* publication already mentioned. Professor Panagiotis Bratsiotis, of the University of Athens, wrote on 'The Fundamental Principles and Main Characteristics of the Orthodox Church', Fr Georges Florovsky, Professor of Patristics at Harvard, on 'The Ethos of the Orthodox Church', and Professor Chrysostomos Konstantinidis, of the Theological School of Halki, Istanbul, on 'The Significance of the Eastern and Western Traditions within Christendom'.

All three place Tradition as perhaps the main characteristic of Orthodoxy, and all three understand Tradition as an oral transmission of truths, or of piety, not contained in Scripture. The most detailed account of what the Orthodox mean by Tradition is given by Professor Konstantinidis; the concrete literary monuments which are the principal forms of Tradition include: 1. the valid and authentic interpretation of Scripture in the Church; 2. the official formulations and confessions of faith; 3. the formulations, definitions and creeds of the Ecumenical Councils; 4. the larger accords of the teaching of the Fathers and ecclesiastical authors, in other words, the *Consensus Patrum*; 5. the forms, acts and institutions of worship and liturgies of the early Church, which form the living expression of the apostolic spirit in the ways of worship in the Church. Everything which remains outside these forms of the *depositum* of the faith of the Church, can be a tradition in the

Church, but it cannot be Tradition of dogma and saving faith; it is not the Holy Tradition.'⁴

All three insist that the norm of Tradition is to be found in the whole Church, including clergy and laity; Professor Bratsiotis judges that an Oecumenical Council is the supreme administrative authority of the Orthodox Church, but that until such a Council can assemble, periodical general councils in which the whole Orthodox Church is represented should administer the Church.

Professor Bratsiotis and Fr Florovsky lay stress upon the 'incarnational' and 'soteriological' element in Orthodox theology and piety, and Professor Bratsiotis stresses the theosis, or divinization of man, together with a strongly ascetic and mystic colour to Orthodox piety. Fr Florovsky also stresses that 'in Orthodox theology and devotion alike Christ is never separated from his Mother, the *Theotokos*, and his "friends", the saints. The Redeemer and the redeemed belong inseparably together.' P. 48.

Fr Florovsky cites an unpublished paper of L. A. Zander, 'The Problem of Ecumenism', in which he says:

It has recently been suggested that the basic division in the Christian World was not so much between 'Catholics' and 'Protestants', as precisely between East and West. This opposition is not of a dogmatic nature: neither the West nor the East can be summed up in one set of dogmas applying to it as a whole. ... The difference between East and West lies in the very nature and method of their theological thinking, in the very soil out of which their dogmatic, liturgical and canonical developments arise, in the very style of their religious life.

Fr Florovsky does not wholly agree with this, and says that the differences arise from a disintegration of a common tradition, and that the problem is to find the original kinship in the common past. My own feeling is exactly the same. Catholic theological students read the Greek Fathers - Ignatius of Antioch, Irenaeus, Athanasius, Chrysostom, Basil, Gregory of Nazianzus, Cyril of Alexandria, Cyril of Jerusalem; and Mariology has been much influenced by the Syrian Fathers. When I read these Fathers I do not feel in any different atmosphere than when I read Ambrose, Hilary, Augustine, Leo, Gregory the Great, or, for that matter, even Bonaventure and Thomas Aquinas. I must confess, however, that my knowledge of the Byzantine period is exceedingly slender and that I do not understand Gregory Palamas. Of a more recent period, Dr Mascall says:

* *Orthodoxy, A Faith and Order Dialogue*, Geneva, 1960, p. 66.

Greek theology for the last few centuries has very largely been based upon Latin scholasticism, often of a very decadent type, with slight modifications about the Papacy, the epiclesis and the Filioque, and has more recently shown a readiness to accept somewhat excessively and uncritically the biblical theories of German liberal Protestantism. Russian Orthodoxy in some of its most striking exponents has been quite as much influenced by German mysticism and idealism as by the genuine Orthodox tradition; some of us can remember the shock with which we discovered how much of what we had taken to be the pure product of the soul of Holy Russia, as taught by such remarkable thinkers as Sergius Bulgakov and Nicholas Berdyaev, was really derived from Hegel or Boehme. It is true that behind all this there lies the massive and unshakable orthodoxy of the Greek Fathers, who belong to the Eastern Church as they belong to no one else. Nevertheless, such facts as I have mentioned suggest that, for the sake of the Orthodox Church no less than of ourselves, we should approach its heritage in a spirit of mingled humility and alertness not essentially different from that in which we approach our own.⁵

He then cites Professor H. A. Hodges, who takes the view that the remedy for Christian division in the West lies in a return to 'a sound and healthy life, and that means to Orthodoxy'. Yet Professor Hodges says, thinking primarily of the Church of England:

We suffer from the fact that, in present-day experience, 'Orthodoxy' and 'Eastern' go together. ... This state of affairs is of course accidental and should be transitory. The Orthodox Faith must be capable of expression in terms of the life and thought of Western peoples; and the elicitation of this western Orthodoxy, at present latent among us, is our great problem for the future. ... True western Orthodoxy is to be found by bodies of Western people, members of the western nations, coming with their western background, their western habits and traditions, into the circle of the Orthodox Faith. Then we should have an Orthodoxy which was really western because its memory was western – a memory of the Christian history of the West, not as the West now remembers it, but purged and set in perspective by the Orthodox Faith. If this were to come about, it would be an enhancement and a liberation for the eastern Orthodox themselves, for it would set Orthodoxy free from its merely local associations and exhibit its universal and catholic character.⁶

Both Mascall and Hodges, I think, are envisaging primarily the Eucharistic doctrine of the Eastern Churches, with the devotion

⁵ Mascall, E. L., *The Recovery of Unity, A Theological Approach*, London, 1958.

⁶ *Anglicanism and Orthodoxy*, London, 1955, p. 52.

and outlook which accompany it, perhaps especially the connection between the Eucharist and the Communion of Saints; and there can be no doubt that Anglicanism and Protestantism can find much in the Orthodox tradition from which they can learn, as the Catholic Church has always depended upon the Tradition of the Greek Fathers and can still learn from them and from Orthodox insights.

METHOD IN THEOLOGY

Generalizations about Orthodoxy and its Tradition seem to me to be liable to misunderstandings. When Zander says that the opposition between East and West is not of a dogmatic character, but in the very nature of their theological thinking, he doubtless expresses a truth, which Fr Florovsky also expresses, namely, that there are grave objections to a method of dividing up of the content of the faith into different 'treatises', of selecting particular points of doctrine and discussing them in isolation, and, especially of quoting snippets from the Fathers irrespective of the whole context. Too analytic a method has grave pitfalls: the doctrine of grace, for instance, cannot be understood apart from the doctrine of the Incarnation and the Atonement; the doctrine of sacraments cannot be understood apart from the doctrine of the Mystical Body. It is too easy a method to say: 'The Orthodox agree with us Catholics on everything save the papacy, the procession of the Holy Spirit, the epiclesis, the definitions of the Immaculate Conception and the Assumption, and perhaps indulgences, purgatory and divorce': and then to discuss each of these topics, as it were on its own merits, citing snippets about each. Fr Florovsky well says: 'It is utterly misleading to single out certain propositions, dogmatic or doctrinal, and to abstract them from the total perspective in which they are meaningful and valid. It is a dangerous habit to handle "quotations" from the Fathers and even the Scriptures, outside of the total structure of faith, in which only they are truly alive. "To follow the Fathers" does not mean simply to quote their sentences. It means to acquire their mind, their *phronema*. The Orthodox Church claims to have preserved this *phronema* and to have theologized *ad mentem Patrum*'.⁷

I should agree heartily about the need to present things in full perspective. This is true of any doctrine in any theological writer,

⁷ *Orthodoxy, A Faith and Order Dialogue*, Faith and Order Paper No. 30, Geneva, 1960, p. 42.

and it is a matter which Catholic theologians feel acutely. At the same time everything cannot be presented at once. Division of matter is a practical necessity: analysis and synthesis must go together, large generalizations ought to be based upon careful assembly of all the relevant data, and failure to base generalizations upon all the facts is often a cause of more misunderstandings than citation of 'snippets' out of their context. I say this partly to justify what follows about the matters on which there is disagreement — or perhaps it might be better to say, difference of feeling and tone — between the Orthodox and ourselves.

SPECIFIC DIFFERENCES

One recent indication of doctrinal divergencies between the Orthodox and the Catholic Church is contained in the *Resolutions of the Conference of the Orthodox Churches held in Moscow in 1948*:

The bishops of Rome have tainted the purity of the ancient and universal Orthodox faith, by introducing new dogmas on the *Filioque*, the Immaculate Conception of the Mother of God, and especially by the totally anti-Christian doctrine of the Supremacy of the Pope in the Church, and his infallibility. By clinging to this anti-Christian innovation, the bishops of Rome have caused enormous harm to the unity of the Universal Church of Christ, and to the work of accomplishing the salvation of men on earth.⁸

It is interesting that the *epiclesis* is not mentioned, nor Purgatory. Doubtless objection might have been made to the definition of the Assumption, had the conference met after that definition.

Within these differences, doubtless, are many 'non-theological' factors. Fr Joseph Gill, in his *History of the Council of Florence*, Cambridge, 1959, indicates some of these:

It was useless for the emperors and the popes to make agreements as long as the clergy and people of the empire were utterly opposed to them and inspired by a profound hatred of the Latins. The behaviour of the Crusaders, especially the sack of Constantinople, the numerous attempts of Normans and French at conquest, the depredations of the Catalan Grand Company, had led them to consider the Latins as greater enemies of their city than even the Turk. The privileges

⁸ Cf. A. Wenger, 'Les divergences doctrinaires entre l'Eglise Catholique et les Eglises Orthodoxes', in *Cahiers de la Nouvelle Revue Théologique*, Paris, 1954, p. 76.

accorded successively to the Venetians and the Genoese, who owned a great part of their quays and a section of their capital and, without paying the taxes that weighed them down, sapped their commercial prosperity, roused a deep rancour against foreign Latins which burst into flame when in a public riot the Venetians were massacred. The introduction of Latin patriarchs and bishops in Antioch, Jerusalem, Constantinople and elsewhere, Latin contempt and ignorance of the Greek liturgical rite and the differences of ecclesiastical tradition – married and unmarried clergy, bearded and unbearded, varieties of discipline about fasts and dozens of other unimportant points – only convinced them of the barbarity and inferiority of the Latins, and their sense of moral superiority combined with a certain political dependence deepened and confirmed their hostility.⁹

Fr Gill adds that the 'Moderates' in Constantinople, mainly among the politicians, the court circles and the higher clerics, were more favourable to Rome than were the monks and the ordinary people, and that it was due to the latter that the agreements made at the Second Council of Lyons in 1274 and the Council of Florence, 1438-1445, were rendered nugatory.

Yet such 'non-theological' factors ought not to be allowed to overshadow the fact that there were real theological problems underlying the Orthodox-Latin differences, that these problems must be faced on their own merits and that arising from these problems are others closely connected with them on which theological development will doubtless throw further light.

THE PROCESSION OF THE HOLY SPIRIT

The addition in the Creed ... 'and in the Holy Spirit who proceeds from the Father' of the words 'and from the Son' was first made in Spain. The complete history of the origin of the addition has still to be written, but it seems probable that it was made in order to oppose an offshoot of Arianism called 'adoptionism', which denied the perfect equality of Father and Son, making the Son inferior to the Father. The fact that the Holy Spirit proceeded from the Son as well as from the Father affirmed concretely the perfect equality of Father and Son. From Spain, the addition passed to France and Germany. The Popes had always refused to allow the addition to be used in the Roman liturgy, until in A.D. 1013 at the request of the Emperor Henry II, Benedict VIII permitted it to be sung in the

⁹ p. 13.

creed at Rome. Two questions then arose: first, was it permitted to add to, or to change, the creed accepted at the third ecumenical Council at Ephesus in 431, which only renewed what was accepted as the rule laid down since Nicaea; and second, granted the legitimacy of an explanatory addition, was the doctrine of the procession of the Holy Spirit from the Son as well as from the Father a true doctrine?

Underlying the first question was that of the development of doctrine, and, ultimately, the question to whom it belongs to decide what development is legitimate and what professions of faith are needful. This in turn raises, fundamentally, the question: What is the Church?

The prohibition of the Council of Ephesus reads as follows:

The holy synod enacted that it was lawful for no one to put forward, that is to write or compose, another faith than is defined by the holy Fathers congregated in the Holy Spirit in Nicaea. Those who dared either to compose or to proffer or put forward another faith to those wishing to return to the acknowledgement of the truth whether from paganism or from Judaism or from any heresy whatsoever, such, if they were bishops or clerics should be alienated, bishops from the episcopacy and clerics from the clergy; but if laymen they should be under anathema.¹⁰

This legislation was renewed by the Councils of Chalcedon in 451, in words just a little different: it was unlawful 'to put forward another faith, that is, to write or compose or to think or teach differently.' Those were reprobated who dared to compose another faith, that is, 'to put forward or teach or hand on another symbol'. The sixth Oecumenical Council, of Constantinople in 680-681, followed the phraseology of Chalcedon.

In the discussions at Florence there was common agreement that those who accepted Christianity should both know what the Christian faith was, and profess it openly and clearly. The modern objections, such as those raised by the Disciples of Christ, against any formulations of faith other than the Scriptural, were not, indeed, explicitly rejected, but were implicitly rejected. Further, the principle accepted at Nicaea, of using non-Scriptural terms in formulations of the faith, was likewise accepted. It was agreed that certain heresies, which undermined the universal faith, could only

¹⁰ Cited by Fr J. Gill, *The Council of Florence*, Cambridge, 1959, from Mansi 2, 640 B.

be effectively rejected by the use of terms, like *homoousios* (con-substantial), which do not appear in Scripture. But the fundamental question, at Florence particularly, was the authority by which such additions might be made. In fact, the Latins had given more freedom to local churches to judge what in their conditions was needful for the protection of the common witness, since the addition of the *Filioque* had been made, not by the central organ of Rome, but by many local churches; and even today Rome does not insist that the *Filioque* should always be used in all liturgical creeds. But the Greeks insisted that such additions could only be sanctioned by an Oecumenical Council, that is, one at which the Greeks would be present.

At Florence, the Greeks accepted the principle that there is a legitimate development in Christian understanding and that this may demand further amplification of the creed. But their claim was that the addition of the *Filioque* violated the precepts of the ancient Councils; the Latin contention was that these Councils had forbidden changes in the faith and that the addition of the *Filioque* did not change the faith but protected it and maintained it. Behind this dispute, lay the different forms of distortion of the Christian faith which arose in the West and not in the East. Donatism, Pelagianism, Adoptionism, and various forms of Dualism, arose in the West and needed clear decision by the Church to repel them and to maintain the ancient and undivided faith.

The theological question about the *Filioque* concerns the doctrine of the relationship between Father, Son and Holy Spirit. The formula finally agreed upon at Lyons in 1274 and at Florence in 1445 declares that 'the Holy Spirit proceeds from Father and Son as from one principle and one breathing forth'.¹¹ Before any discussion of the doctrine itself, some previous misconceptions deserve a few words.

First, it has been suggested that the whole matter concerns a *theologumenon*, that is, a mere matter of theological discussion, not affecting the faith, or which different opinions are legitimate. Underlying this outlook, there is, I suspect, a feeling that both Greeks and Latins were attempting to define the undefinable, were insufficiently aware of the supreme mysteriousness of the relation of Father, Son and Holy Spirit, and were too ready to apply human categories and formulations to what so exceeds human thought that

¹¹ Cf. the text of Florence, Denzinger 691; the wording of Lyons is a little different but the doctrine the same, Denzinger 460.

it ought to be left in reverent obscurity. This same objection has been and sometimes still is made against the addition of the word *homoousios* (consubstantial) to the Creed, and the dispute whether the Son is *homoousios* or *homoiousios* is regarded as ridiculous, since it makes the whole great mystery of salvation depend upon one single letter. In fact, however, as St Athanasius clearly saw, and as all thoughtful Christians have appreciated since then, the one letter meant the difference between making Christ a kind of pagan demi-God and acknowledging him to be the true and authentic Son of the Father. As regards the procession of the Holy Ghost, the crucial importance of the dispute is not so clear. Yet the intense seriousness with which both sides regarded the matter shows that they were convinced that correct language about the relation of Father, Son and Holy Ghost is essential to Christianity and to the authentic Christian message of salvation. A mistake about the Trinity would mean a mistake in the saving message itself, for man's whole relation to God is dependent upon the nature of God. If God is at once one, and yet, in most mysterious fashion, a self-communication, a self-giving, an essential complete sharing of mind, will and very being, then the nature of man's lifting up to the divine is essentially affected: Christian charity must derive from the mutual love of Father, Son and Spirit, and if that mutual love and sharing of Father, Son and Spirit is distorted or falsified, then the nature of Christian charity is distorted and the finality of human and Christian effort is changed and debased. Though we cannot fully express the mystery, nevertheless we can use human language to express correctly something of the mystery, even though it be only to make precise exactly where the mystery lies. It was this conviction that lay behind the intense earnestness of the disputes about the *Filioque*.

The late Professor Vladimir Lossky rejected V. Bolotov's assertion at the Conference with the Old Catholics in 1892 that the *Filioque* question is a mere *theologumenon*, a matter on which different opinions may legitimately be held¹² One may question the adequacy of Lossky's defence of the distinction of the divine 'energies' from the essence of God, pp. 46-9, and one may wonder if he has grasped the difference between 'relative' and 'absolute'; but he seems to me fully correct in denying that the *Filioque* question is a mere matter of theological opinion.

¹² *Eastern Churches Quarterly*, Supplementary Issue, vol. vii, 1948, pp. 32-3.

Can it be said that the difference was and is merely one of language? Now it is true that the Greek word *aitia*, cause or principle, is difficult to translate into Latin, and that the Greeks in saying that the Father is the sole 'cause' or 'principle' of the Holy Spirit, as he is of the Son, may have meant to indicate only what is called 'rank' or 'order' in the Trinity, for the Father is the source or cause or principle or *aitia*, of the whole of the Godhead. It is true likewise that the Greek word *ek* may have a connotation that the Latin word *ab* has not; thus when the Latins say the Spirit is also from, *ab*, the Son, they do not mean to indicate that the Father is not the origin of the Son and of the whole Godhead, whereas the word *ek* in Greek implies the ultimate origin, and to say that the Spirit is *ek*, from, the Son might imply that the Son is as ultimate as is the Father, and hence might imply that the Son also is not from the Father. But, granted this divergence in the meaning of language, I still think that more was at stake than merely differences in terminology and the suggestions conveyed by *aitia* and the preposition *ek*. On the one hand, the Greeks insisted upon the absolute unity of Father and Son, and the Latins accepted, and, indeed, voluntarily and spontaneously inserted, the expression *tamquam ab uno principio*, 'as from one principle'.¹³ The Latin formula *a Patre filioque* seemed to the Greeks to make two ultimate principles of the Holy Spirit and thus to deny the absolute unity of God. On the other hand, refusal to accept the procession of the Spirit equally from the Son as from the Father seems to many Latins to imply that the Father had some prerogative, other than Fatherhood, which the Son has not, and thus to suggest an inferiority of the Son.

Very Rev. Fr Vladimir Rodzianko is certainly right in saying that very much misunderstanding arose because of differences between the Latin and the Greek languages, their words and expressions; but I do not think he means to suggest that the disagreement was merely one of language and of words.¹⁴ On the contrary, he is convinced that 'all questions of doctrinal, canonical and moral importance are dependent on the Mystery of the Holy Trinity. The Filioque problem is the key to them all. And neither ecclesiology with her ecumenical problems, nor eschatology in her theory and practice, can come to a solution without the clear

¹³ Cf. V. Grumel, 'Saint Thomas et la doctrine des Grecs sur la procession du Saint Esprit', *Echoes d'Orient*, xxv (1926), pp. 257-80.

¹⁴ Cf. 'The Filioque dispute and its importance', *E.C.Q.* x, n. 4, winter, 1953, p. 188.

expression of the Faith in the Holy Ghost and His eternal procession – which the Church has, and always has, in her heart. I do not think there is anything as important as that for all Christians in the world.¹⁵

Père Henry, in a special number of the *Eastern Churches Quarterly*, 1948, devoted to the Holy Spirit, shows excellently that both formulas are necessary, that is, *Filioque*, and *tamquam ab uno principio*. The Latin contention emphasizes that the Spirit is most fully and truly the eternal Spirit of the Son, with all that this implies; the Greek, that even though as regards relationship to the Spirit there is no difference between Father and Son, nevertheless the Son must always be Son and must never be confused with the Father. The Greeks did not want the Father's ultimacy with regard to both Son and Spirit to be clouded; and all must agree that the 'breathing forth of the Spirit' by the Son is something he receives from the Father, and not something he has, as it were, independently of the Father.

A third suggestion which I have heard seems equally to be unfounded. It is to the effect that the Latin formula and conception makes the Holy Spirit dependent upon the *Logos*, that is, upon the Reason of God, and thus tends to limit the activities of the Spirit by conceptualizations, and that, ultimately, this conception of the Spirit accounts for the legalism and the formalism of the Latins as compared to the Greeks. The Latins not seldom appear to the Greeks to have a passion for defining things better left undefined, and this accords with their view of the procession of the Holy Spirit from the *Logos*, the *Verbum*. This suggestion seems somewhat of a rationalization *post factum*. All sound theology agrees that the divine intellect, the divine will, and all divine operations regarding creation are absolutely common to Father, Son and Holy Spirit:¹⁶ we cannot say that the Spirit thinks or wills with another mind or love than that of Father and Son. We do not owe more of our holiness to the Son than to the Father, nor more of the inspiration of Scripture to the Holy Ghost than to the Father or to the Son. We do not love Son more than Father, or Holy Spirit more than the Son; we love each equally, adore and glorify each equally, knowing that the only difference between them lies in their mutual relations to one another and not in any different relations to us. Moreover, I should – from my reading of Athanasius and of Basil,

¹⁵ *Ibid.* p. 187.

¹⁶ Cf. St Basil, *De Spiritu Sancto*, ch. 8, n. 19 and ch. 16, n. 8.

and from rather sketchy knowledge of Byzantine history – question the assertion that the Latins are more given to legalism and to conceptualization than are the Greeks. No one cared more for exact expression than Athanasius or than Basil; and the relationships of Orthodox bishops in different areas were governed by the sacred canons, and precedence assumes so important a place in Orthodox outlooks. However, I agree that here is a large question, on which there may be different opinions; I only say that for myself I do not find Ambrose or Augustine or Leo or Gregory more legalistic – or less – than Athanasius, Basil or Chrysostom or Cyril of Alexandria; and in theologizing, I doubt whether Peter Lombard is more given to conceptualization than St John Damascene.

Large generalizations about the differences between Greek and Latin outlooks on the Blessed Trinity ought to be suspect. Thus de Regnon suggests that the Latins began with the unity of nature and went on to the distinction of persons, whereas the Greeks began with the distinction of persons and regarded the nature as a kind of content of the persons. I doubt if this is true. St Denys of Alexandria certainly emphasized the distinction of persons against the Sabellians, but the Arian and Macedonian heresies led Athanasius and Basil to lay stress upon the absolute identity of nature in Father, Son and Holy Spirit. Such generalizations do not take sufficient account of the historical context in which the Fathers wrote. At one time it may be needful to say: Yes, God is one in nature, but still he is three in Persons; and at another to say: Yes, God is three in Persons, but he is still one in nature. This, however, indicates no underlying difference of outlook, but merely the need to stress one or other element of the mystery against particular denials. Similarly, the formula *a Filio* is called by Scheeben and accepted by Pohle-Preuss, as 'the organic conception', while the formula *per Filium*, 'through the Son' is called the 'personal conception', a generalization which I confess I do not understand. Father, Son and Holy Spirit are one organism, one life as they are one God; and the Holy Spirit has no different relationship to the Son than to the Father.

What, then, it may be asked, is the real point and importance of the dispute about the *Filioque*? In the course of the dispute the real reason for both the Greek and the Latin formulas tended to be obscured. The Greeks added the formula that the Holy Spirit proceeds from the Father in order to repel the Arian and Macedonian

heresy that the Holy Ghost is a creature made by the Son;¹⁷ the Latins added the *Filioque* in order to oppose the Adoptionists, who maintained the inferiority of the Son to the Father because he does not share with the Father the procession of the Holy Spirit. Thus both formulas were adopted in order to maintain the perfect equality of Father, Son and Holy Ghost, and both formulas were and are most orthodox in intent.

Fr Rodzianko, however, in his most eirenic and helpful article in the *E.C.Q.*,¹⁸ thinks that the ultimate question is 'what does procession (ekporeusis) mean in itself, and what is its nature?'. Speaking with greatest respect for Orthodox opinions, I should answer this question by appealing to the principle that we can know the eternal processions only in as much as they are imaged forth on earth in the 'missions', the sending, of both Son and Holy Spirit. This is put briefly by St Augustine: *mitti est cognosci ut ab alio procedens*, to be sent means to be recognized as proceeding from another.¹⁹

The human life of Christ is a manifestation of the divine life of God. 'I came forth from the Father and came into the world' (John 16: 28); and his coming into the world and his conduct in the world is a reflection, almost a counterpart, of the eternal coming forth from the Father, for both as man and as God he is essentially Son. Christ, by showing his human unity with his Father, led men to understand that this human unity is grounded upon a higher, a divine unity. This seems to me to be basic in the Gospel of St John: and I think it is, likewise, basic in the thought and doctrine of the Greek Fathers. St Athanasius, in his famous work on the Incarnation of the Word, repeats that when knowledge of God was being lost upon earth, God sent his Son to show us what God is really like; in the human life of Christ we have knowledge of God himself.²⁰ The Father's love for the Son incarnate is an image of the divine love; and in turn, the obedience of the Son images forth the unity of will which exists in the divine and eternal order. The Father did not command the Son to die for the salvation of men, as

¹⁷ Cf. Denzinger, nn. 58, 74, 76, 86; St Gregory the Theologian, of Nazianzus, insisted most frequently that the Spirit proceeds from the Father no less than does the Son, *Orat.* 20, 11; 26, 16; 39, 12.

¹⁸ Winter, 1953, pp. 177-91.

¹⁹ *De Trinitate*, 4.20.

²⁰ Cf. *De Incarnatione Verbi* chapters 11-19; and the same is implicit in Athanasius's letters to Serapion, v.g. I: 19-22.

a superior commands an inferior, as the Arians held, but the 'command' was the eternal plan for men's salvation which the Father communicated to the Son, not by ordering but by the fact that the conformity of the human will is a reflection of the eternal communication of the will of the Father to the Son.²¹

Christ's 'works', his miracles, are 'signs', for they are also the works of God himself: 'for the works which the Father has given me to accomplish, these very works that I do bear witness to me, that the Father has sent me' (John 5 : 36); after the healing of the blind man, Christ says: 'the works of God were to be made manifest in him. I must do the works of him who sent me' (John 9 : 3); to the Jews who accused him of blasphemy, Christ says: 'If I do not perform the works of my Father, do not believe me. But if I do perform them, and if you are not willing to believe me, believe the works, that you may know and believe that the Father is in me and I in the Father' (John 10 : 37); and to Philip, 'The Father dwelling in me, it is he who does the works. Do you believe that I am in the Father and the Father in me? Otherwise believe because of the works themselves.' (John 14 : 10, 11.) The works of Christ bear witness to him, and make visible both the character and the power of God, by showing that in Christ he is active in a unique way. The miracles are a sign of his union with God and a sign of the character of God; as St Athanasius says: 'From his works he revealed himself as Son of God, and revealed his own Father.'²² The works do indeed reveal the temporal 'sending' of Christ, that is, that he was commissioned by God, approved by God and came from God. But they reveal more. They reveal that the Father is in him and he in the Father, that he is the true Son of God and equal to God. The human 'sending' is a sign and a reflection of the eternal relationship.

Of recent times much attention has been paid by scholars to the concept of Christ's 'glory', especially as it is understood in the Gospel of St John. The true glory of Christ is the Cross. C. H. Dodd, in his famous book on St John, says that full weight must be allowed 'to the Johannine doctrine that Christ is glorified and exalted in his death. No higher exaltation, and no brighter glory, is to be conceived than that which Christ attained in his self-oblation,

²¹ Cf. St Basil *De Spiritu Sancto*, 8: 19-20; and St Cyril of Alexandria, in his comments on John 7 : 16; 13 : 3; 16 : 27-8, where the temporal 'coming forth' from the Father is a reflection of the eternal coming forth.

²² *Orat. 3 contra Arianos*, n. 41, end.

since it is the absolute expression of the divine love. This is the glory which he had with the Father before the foundation of the world (17: 5 and 24). It is veiled from the eyes of men by the shame of the cross; but not veiled from those who know what the "lifting up" on the cross really means, and in that "lifting up" "see the Son of Man ascending where he was before" (6: 62).²³

The cross of Christ was his greatest work, a work which most showed his love for men: 'this is my body given for you', 'this is my blood poured out for the forgiveness of sins'. From the self-sacrifice of Christ we learn what he is like, learn the generosity of his love. But Christ is the revelation, not only of himself, but of the Father, and he revealed the Father not only by words but by deeds, and the greatest of Christ's deeds, the 'accomplishment of the work which thou hast given me to do', is the death upon the cross. Even on the cross it is true that 'the Father dwelling in me, it is he who does the works' (John 14: 10). The cross is an earthly reflection of the everlasting nature of God.

Sometimes this truth, that the cross reveals the relation of Father and Son, seems to be exaggerated. Charles Allen Dinsmore wrote: 'There was a cross in the heart of God before there was one planted on the green hill outside Jerusalem'.²⁴ Horace Bushell also wrote: 'There is a cross in God before the wood is seen upon Calvary; hid in God's own virtue itself'.²⁵ Miss N. Gorodetzky in *The Humiliated Christ in Modern Russian Thought* (London, 1938), cites the Very Rev. Sergius Bulgakov as speaking of a *kenosis* within the Holy Trinity: 'Kenosis among the three hypostases consists of certain self-emptyings, self-givings, self-sacrifices'.²⁶ The truth here seems to be the complete communication of the divine being from Father to Son in the Holy Ghost; but to speak of a cross within God, or of any *kenosis* within the Holy Trinity, seems an exaggeration. However, whatever truth there may be in such sayings derives from the principle that Christ in his self-giving on Calvary reveals the inner nature of God himself.

Dr A. M. Ramsey in *The Glory of God and the Transfiguration of Christ* puts it: 'The obedience of Jesus to the Father in His life and death and the vindication of Jesus by the Father in the Resurrection

²³ *The Interpretation of the Fourth Gospel*, Cambridge 1954, p. 301.

²⁴ *Atonement in Literature and Life*, quoted by Donald Baillie, *God was in Christ*, London, 1955, p. 194.

²⁵ *The Vicarious Sacrifice*, New York, 1860, p. 259.

²⁶ *Op. cit.*, p. 161.

are the disclosure within time of a glory of self-giving love which belong to God from all eternity. "The doctrine of the Trinity is the projection into eternity of this essential relationship of Son to Father, the assertion that eternally the divine life is a life of mutual self-giving to one another of Father and Son through the Spirit who is the *vinculum* or bond of love between them".²⁷

St John speaks of the love of the Father for the Son in a way that makes clear it is a love of the Son both in time and in eternity, the love of Christ as man reflecting the love of the eternal Son. 'As the Father has loved me, I also have loved you. Abide in my love' (John 15 : 9) refers clearly to the love of the Father for Christ in his manhood; but that this love extends from eternity into time is clear from Christ's prayer that his followers may see his glory 'which thou hast given me, because thou hast loved me before the creation of the world.' (John 17 : 24; and cf. 3 : 35 and 5 : 20, where the love is of the Son both as man and as God.) The temporal 'sending' of the Son by the Father images forth the eternal nature of Father and Son.²⁸

This is not only a teaching of the Greek Fathers, but seems to be fundamental to Orthodox spirituality. Against the Arians, the Greek Fathers repeat almost incessantly that in Christ we come to the Father, since Father and Son cannot be separated and he who is Son in time is also Son from all eternity, having the same being as the Father, the Son issuing forth from the Father in time and in eternity. Orthodox spirituality is intensely devoted to the cross of Christ, to his physical sufferings, as well as to the resurrection – St Ignatius of Antioch says Christ's Passion is our resurrection²⁹ and he had so conspicuously the spirit of martyrdom for which the Orthodox have always been conspicuous – and this devotion to the suffering Christ, to Christ's meekness and subjection to his Father, seems to place the totality of Christian holiness in union with Christ's meekness, subjection and sufferings, and thus implicitly asserts that the outward life of Christ reflects the eternal nature of God. Arseniev, in his *Holy Moscow*, cites a sermon of Filaret,

²⁷ *Op.cit.*, p. 84. The citation is from L. Hodgson, *The Doctrine of the Trinity*, London, 1943, p. 68.

²⁸ The 'sending' is mentioned by St John in no less than 38 places: 3 : 17, 34; 4 : 34; 5 : 24, 30, 36, 37, 38; 6 : 29, 38, 39, 44, 57; 7 : 16, 18, 28, 29; 8 : 16, 18, 26, 42; 9 : 4; 10 : 36; 11 : 42; 12 : 44 ff., 49; 13 : 20; 14 : 24; 15 : 21; 16 : 5; 17 : 3, 8, 18, 21, 23, 25; 20 : 21.

²⁹ To the Smyrnaeans, 5, 3.

Archbishop and Metropolitan of Moscow (1821-1867), delivered on Good Friday:

Step into the Holy of Holies of the sufferings of Jesus, leaving the outer court behind thee. ... What is there? Nothing except the holy and blessed love of the Father, the Son and the Holy Ghost towards sinful mankind.

The love of the Father, that brought the crucifixion.

The love of the Son, that has let itself be crucified.

The love of the Holy Ghost, that triumphs through the power of the cross.³⁰

Implicitly the sufferings of Christ reveal the most intimate love of the Holy Trinity, for God's love, as it is revealed to us, must be such in itself; and Christ prayed that the world may know that the Father loves the followers of Christ even as he loves his Son. The love, then, of the Son for us reveals the eternal love of Son for Father and of Father for Son. I think that this is fundamental to Orthodox spirituality.³¹

SON AND HOLY SPIRIT

If the earthly life of the Son reflects the inner life of God, and if his 'sending' by the Father reveals his eternal relation to the Father, so, too, must the 'sending' of the Holy Ghost reflect and reveal the inner life of God. The Greek Fathers were primarily interested in denying that the Holy Spirit is a creature; they show that he is not a creature by arguing that the temporal 'sending' of the Spirit from the Son shows the divine nature of the Spirit; the Holy Spirit is 'sent' to accomplish a divine work, to sanctify and deify man, and,

³⁰ *Op. cit.*, p. 154.

³¹ There is an excellent bibliography on Orthodox spirituality in *Orthodox Spirituality, An Outline of the Orthodox Ascetical and Mystical Tradition*, by a Monk of the Eastern Church, London, 1945; cf. also Nadejda Gorodetsky, *The Humiliated Christ in Modern Russian Thought*, London, 1938, and 'The Prayer of Jesus', *Blackfriars*, Oxford, xxiii, n. 263, Feb., 1942, pp. 74-78; N. Arseniev, *Holy Moscow*, London, 1928; I. Kologrivov, *Essai sur la sainteté en Russie*, Bruges, 1952; Hausherr, J., 'L'imitation du Christ chez les byzantines', *Mélanges Cavallera*, Toulouse, 1948, and 'De Doctrina spirituali christianorum Orientalium', *Orientalia Christiana*, Romae, n. 30, fasc. 3, 1933; Lossky, V., *Essai sur la théologie mystique de l'Eglise d'Orient*, Paris, 1944; M. J. le Guillou, 'Aux sources des mouvements spirituelles de l'Eglise de Grèce, I. La renaissance spirituelle du XVIIIe siècle' III, 'Apostolos Makrakis, ses intuitions apostoliques et spirituelles', *Istina*, 1960, n. 1, pp. 95-128, n. 3, pp. 261-78.

since this is a work which only God can do, the Holy Spirit is truly divine and equal to Father and Son. Implicit in this argument is the assumption that the 'sending' by the Son involves a divine relationship between the Holy Spirit and the Son. The argument concludes from what the Spirit does to what the Spirit is, and as in his doing he is sent by the Son, so in his being he is sent by the Son. Could it be said that the being of the Spirit is such that he could be sent by the Son to act in the world while in his own person he has no relation of coming forth from the Son? Against this is the frequent assertion of the Greek Fathers that the Spirit in his action of sanctification communicates not merely created gifts, but his own very self, that the Spirit sanctifies by uniting to himself and so uniting to God, Father, Son and Holy Ghost. The Holy Spirit is said to be 'sent' by the Son, to be 'given' by the Son, to 'receive' of the Son, to 'take' from the Son, to be 'in' the Son, to be 'the Spirit of the Son', to glorify the Son; from all these expressions St Athanasius concludes that the Holy Spirit cannot be a creature but must be truly God, and the conclusion rests upon the implicit assumption that the temporal relation of Spirit to Son is a sure indication of the eternal relation. Shapland well says that St Athanasius holds that 'the very procession of the Spirit from the Father is itself apprehended by us from our knowledge of his mission from the Word'.³² The Spirit in himself reveals to us the hidden life of the Godhead.³³

It is foreign to the mind of the Greek Fathers to imagine that the Son gives to the Holy Spirit merely an office, a message, a function in the created order. Dealing with the famous text, 'but of that day and hour no man knows, neither the angels of God nor the Son', St Athanasius insists that the ignorance belongs only to Christ as man and not to the Word, not to the Son in his divine nature. He argues that the text does not say 'nor the Son of God knows' but only 'the Son', does not know, so that the ignorance 'might be the Son's as born from among men'. Athanasius then proceeds: 'On this account he alludes to the Angels, but he did not go further and say "not the Holy Ghost", but he was silent, with a double intimation first that if the Spirit knew, much more must the Word know, considered as the Word, from whom the Spirit receives; and next by his silence about the Spirit, he makes it clear that he spoke of his

³² Shapland, C. R. B., *The Letters of Saint Athanasius concerning the Holy Spirit*, translated with Introduction and Notes. London, 1951, comment on I, 20, p. 117.

³³ Cf. *Ad Serap*, I, 20.

human ministry in saying, "no, not the Son". Now it is as God, surely that the Spirit knows all things, including the day of judgment; and since Athanasius says that this knowledge is received from the Son, the implication of a divine communication is clear. Yet in this case the Spirit does not receive from the Son any 'message' to deliver to men, since the Father reserves this knowledge of the day of judgment to himself, that is, such knowledge is reserved to the Godhead, as in Father, Son and Holy Spirit all knowledge is common.³⁴

The principle holds, fundamental to all the argumentation of Athanasius, Didymus, Basil and Cyril of Alexandria, that as the Father, the Son and the Holy Spirit are in themselves, so they are revealed to us, and so, likewise, they dwell within men's souls by grace. One passage from St Athanasius is enough to show this. In his first letter to Serapion, he says:

"There are diversities of gifts, but the same Spirit. And there are diversities of ministrations but the same Lord. And there are diversities of workings, but the same God who worketh all things in all." [I Cor. 12 : 4-6.] The gifts which the Spirit distributes to each are bestowed from the Father through the Word. For all things that are of the Father are of the Son also; therefore those things which are given from the Son in the Spirit are gifts of the Father. And when the Spirit is in us, the Word also, who gives the Spirit, is in us, and in the Word is the Father. So it is said: 'We will come and make our abode with him.' [John 14 : 23.] For where the light is, there also is the radiance; and where the radiance is, there also is its activity and shining grace. This again the Apostle teaches, in his second letter to the Corinthians: 'The grace of our Lord Jesus Christ and the love of God and the fellowship of the Holy Spirit be with you all.' [2 Cor. 13 : 13.] For this grace and gift that is given is given in the Triad, from the Father, through the Son, in the Holy Spirit. As the grace given is from the Father through the Son, so we can have no communion in the gift except in the Holy Spirit. For it is when we partake of him that we have the love of the Father and the grace of the Son and the communion of the Spirit himself.³⁵

The gifts we receive are given by the divine Persons, as the divine Persons are in themselves.

³⁴ *Contra Arianos*, 3, 44.

³⁵ *Ad Serap.* 1 : 30. Translation, with small changes, by C. R. B. Shapland, *The Letters of Saint Athanasius Concerning the Holy Spirit*, London, 1951, I, 30, p. 141-2.

There were, however, particular reasons why many of the Greek Fathers were chary of the explicit statement that the Holy Spirit proceeds from the Son. In the first place, Scripture never says that the Holy Spirit proceeds from the Son, while it does say that he proceeds from the Father. But, this apart, there were two main heresies about the Blessed Trinity: the one which denied the distinction of the Persons, holding that the terms Father, Son and Holy Ghost signified merely modifications, or manifestations, of the one undifferentiated Godhead; this was Modalism, or Sabellianism. The other heresy was Arianism, which held that the Son was a creature, not of the same nature as the Father; and an offshoot of Arianism was called Macedonianism, which held that the Holy Spirit was a creature made by the Son and inferior both to the Son and the Father. Both these heresies argued from the idea of the procession of the Holy Spirit from the Son. Marcellus of Ancyra, who was condemned in a Synod at Constantinople in A.D. 336, argued that, as the Spirit came forth from the Son (John 16: 14 and 20) and likewise comes from the Father, there could be no true distinction between Father and Son but that the terms 'Father' and 'Son' were merely names indicating certain activities of God as regards creation, but not signifying any distinction in the Godhead before creation. Thus the procession from the Son seemed to lead to unitarianism.³⁶

In opposing Marcellus, however, Eusebius of Caesarea (A.D. 263-339) argues from the words of St John, 'All things were made by him' (1: 3), and from the assertions that the Spirit is sent by the Son and receives from him, that the Spirit is a creature made by the Son, and subordinate in being to Father and Son. The Holy Spirit cannot be either 'God' or 'Son', because he has not received his origin directly from the Father as the Son did, but comes from the Son and is made by the Son.³⁷ Later, Theodoret of Cyrus (A.D. 393-466) opposing St Cyril of Alexandria, held that the Holy Spirit is the true Spirit of the Son and of the same nature as the Son, but does not receive his being from the Son or through the Son,³⁸ with the suggestion that the Word was really different from Christ and that there were two persons in Christ, only morally united, since the Spirit enabled the man Christ to perform miracles. The

³⁶ Cf. Eusebius of Caesarea, (A.D. 269-339), *Ecclesiastica Theologia*, 3, 4 Migne *Patres Graeci*, 24, 1004-5.

³⁷ *Eccl. Theol.* 3, 5, MPG, 24, 1013.

³⁸ MPG 76, 432, and cf. MPG 84, 395-6.

idea that the Spirit receives his being from the Son seemed to Theodoret to make the Spirit a creature of the Son.

The Greek Fathers tend to avoid any explicit assertions that the Spirit derives his subsistence directly or indirectly from the Son, since such assertions were associated with heretical opinions either about the distinction of Persons in the Blessed Trinity, or about the Holy Spirit being a creature made by the Son.³⁹

However, it would not be difficult to quote many of the Greek Fathers who take for granted the principle that the temporal 'sending' is indicative of a timeless relationship. As one instance, St Basil in his booklet on the Holy Spirit, says: "He will glorify me", said Christ, not as a creature glorifies me, but as the Spirit of Truth in himself making the truth manifestly evident, and as the Spirit of wisdom in his own greatness revealing Christ as the power and the wisdom of God. And as Paraclete he delineates in himself the goodness of the Paraclete who sends him, and in his own worth shows forth the majesty of him from whom he comes forth.⁴⁰ It is obvious that it is the very being of the Holy Spirit which is in question and not merely any function of message-bearing.

The Holy Spirit is the spirit of self-communion and self-giving in which Father and Son are eternally united. The Spirit, as St Basil says, is the *koinonia*, the communion, of Father and Son. But if one says that the Spirit proceeds only from the Father, and leaves the matter there, then it might seem that the Spirit is only in a diminished sense the Spirit of the Son and cannot be called the Spirit of the Son in the same sense in which the Son is Son of the Father; and it would follow likewise that the equal love which Scripture and the Church teach us to bear to Father, Son and Holy Spirit, does not correspond to the eternal reality. If, on the other hand, one fails to add that the Spirit proceeds from the Father and the Son as from one principle and one breathing forth, it might be suggested that the Son, as regards the sending of the Spirit, is independent of the Father, whereas in fact, all that the Son has he has from the Father, including his relation to the Holy Spirit.

³⁹ St Athanasius is almost wearisome in repeating that the Spirit is not a creature made by the Son. At the Council of Florence, St Cyril's opinion was the occasion of considerable dispute between Mark Eugenicus and John Montenero, the Dominican Provincial, cf. Gill's *The Council of Florence*, pp. 208, 210, 219-21.

⁴⁰ Ch. 18, n. 46.

Karl Barth cites Quenstedt: 'This temporal mission of the Holy Spirit presupposes that eternal procession from Son equally as from Father and is its affirmation and manifestation.'⁴¹

And Barth comments as follows: 'This whole insight and outlook is lost by denying the immanent *Filioque*. If the Spirit is also the Spirit of the Son only in revelation and for faith, if in eternity, which means in his proper and original reality, he is only the Spirit of the Father, then the communion of the Spirit between God and man lacks objective content and ground. However revealed and believed in, it stands as a merely temporal truth without eternal ground, upon itself so to speak. Whatever in that case may be said of the communion between God and man, in that case it at least lacks warranty in the communion between God the Father and God the Son, as the eternal content of its temporal reality. Would that not mean an emptying of revelation?'

Professor Lossky perceived the force of this reasoning, namely that the temporal 'sending' by the Son of the Holy Spirit must be a reflection of the eternal relationship between them, and that therefore the Holy Spirit is equally 'from' the Son as from the Father. But Professor Lossky avoids the force of the argument by distinguishing between the divine essence and the divine energies, these latter being a certain eternal manifestation of God, though not a manifestation of the personal relationships. He distinguishes two kinds of procession in God, with different relationships. The first is 'a procession of manifestation', which is eternal, in which 'all energy, and all manifestations, comes from the Father, is expressed in the Son, and goes forth "ad extra" in the Holy Spirit. This procession, appertaining to the Godhead, manifesting and *energetic*, must be clearly distinguished from the Personal procession, which is internal and is from the Father alone. The same monarchy of the Father conditions both the Personal procession of the Holy Spirit (his Personal existence from the Father alone) and the manifesting natural procession of the common Godhead "ad extra" in the Holy Spirit, through the Son.'

For this reason Professor Lossky disagreed with those Greeks

⁴¹ Theol. did, pol. 168; ch. 9 sect. 2 qy. 12 beb. 3.

⁴² *The Doctrine of the Word of God* (Prolegomena to Church Dogmatics, being Vol. I, Part I), translation by G. T. Thomson, Edinburgh, imp. 3, 1955, p. 550.

⁴³ 'The Procession of the Holy Ghost in the Orthodox Triadology', *Eastern Churches Quarterly*, Supplementary Issue, VII, 1948, p. 48.

who think that the procession of the Holy Spirit through the Son must be restricted to the temporal procession:

It would not be exact to say, as some Orthodox polemical writers have sometimes said, that the procession 'through the Son' signifies solely the temporal mission of the Holy Spirit. ... The Temporal Mission is a special case of the Divine Economic Manifestation, in relation to creation. Generally speaking, the divine economy in time expresses the eternal manifestation, but the eternal manifestation is not necessarily the basis of created beings, which *could have not existed*. Independently of the existence of creatures, the Trinity is manifested in the radiance of his glory. From all eternity, the Father is the Father of Glory, the Word is the brightness of his glory, and the Holy Spirit is the Spirit of glory.

Then Professor Lossky adds that 'it is hard to see whether it is the Personal procession or the procession of manifestation to which a writer is alluding; both are eternal, although with different relationships.' [P. 51.] One example may illustrate this difficulty.⁴⁴ Professor Lossky says: 'When St Basil speaks to us of the Son who "shows us in himself the whole of the Father, shining with all his glory in resplendence"⁴⁵ he is concerned with the manifesting and *energetic* aspect of the Trinity.'⁴⁶ But the context does not bear out this interpretation, since Basil is answering the objection of Eunomius that the Son, if begotten, could not have existed before his begetting and therefore is not eternal; and he repeats the common argument of all the Greek Fathers, notably Athanasius, that the Father could never have been without his wisdom, his *Logos*. The argument applies not merely to the order of manifestation, but to the eternal and ultimate nature of God.

The point may seem unduly laboured. Yet it is of consequence, for if ever again there is dialogue between the Orthodox and Catholics about the divine processions, discussion might well begin, not with citation of snippets from the Fathers, nor with discussion whether the Holy Spirit could be distinguished from the Son if he did not proceed from the Son, but, rather, with the fundamental question whether or no the temporal 'sending' of Son and of Holy Spirit is a true reflection of the ultimate nature of God.

The agreement of Orthodox and Catholics at Lyons is an essen-

⁴⁴ For myself, I confess I incline to say this impossibility, for I cannot grasp the distinction between God's essence and his energies.

⁴⁵ *Against Eunomius* 2, 17, Migne *Patres Graeci*, xxiv, 605 B.

⁴⁶ *Ibid.*, p. 49.

tial protection of the true doctrine of Father, Son and Holy Spirit: they are absolutely one in nature and differ only in personality. The Father is Father only with regard to the Son, and not with regard to the Holy Spirit, for the Holy Spirit is not the Son of the Father. The Son is Son only with regard to the Father, and not with regard to the Spirit, for the Holy Spirit is not the father of the Son. The Holy Spirit is the Spirit of both, and, that granted, it is impossible to find ground for distinguishing the Spirit's relation to the Father from his relation to the Son. The Arians said that the Spirit has exactly the same relation to the Son as the Son has to the Father; to which St Athanasius retorted that in that case the Holy Spirit would be the Son of the Son and the grandson of the Father – than which nothing could be more impious.⁴⁷ The Son is Son, not with regard to the Spirit, but only with regard to the Father, and the Father is Father only with regard to the Son and not with regard to the Holy Spirit, and the Holy Spirit is Spirit with equal regard to both, for Father and Son have one Spirit, and the Spirit of the Son is the identical same as the Spirit of the Father. This is why St Basil says the Holy Spirit is the *Koinonia* – the very community, or communion, of Father and Son.

Thus the persons of the Trinity are distinguished only by their relationships to one another; that apart, no basis of distinction can be found, for none other is revealed. The old adage holds: everything is absolutely the same, except only where there is relative confrontation: *omnia sunt unum nisi ubi obviat relationis oppositio*. The divine persons are persons only because of their relativity to one another, and not because of anything which they have each for himself: thought, will, being, activity in creation, all is common, the sole difference consisting in the relative confrontation of one to another.

Granted the revelation, though *only* granted the revelation, and granted that all analogies inevitably limp, the mystery of divine personality throws light on human personality. Christians hold that the life given by Christ is the only true life, which conquers death; and that that life is a sharing in the life of Father, Son and Holy Spirit. If this is so, then the nature of redeemed personality must consist, not in absolute self-contained being, not in 'self-realization' or 'self-perfection', but in relative being, in the relations to Father, Son, Holy Spirit and to the other beings who live by the life of Father, Son and Holy Spirit. This is why the Christian life is and

⁴⁷ *To Serapion*, 1, 15, ed. C. R. B. Shapland, London, 1951, p. 99.

must be a life of self-giving and of self-sacrifice: he who would save his life must lose it. If it were once admitted that the divine Persons have one single thing which they do not share with the Others, then the completeness of the command of charity would be destroyed; but acceptance of the mystery of the absolute unity of being, together with the distinction of Persons being real and yet relative, gives point and pith to the Christian insistence on the primacy of charity. For this reason, the discussions between Greeks and Latins at Lyons and Florence, and any future discussions which may take place, should not be regarded as useless word-spinnings, or as efforts to penetrate the impenetrable, or as useless rationalizations about the mystery of God. Basically, they should be regarded as an essential defence of the whole Christian outlook and conviction.

THE IMMACULATE CONCEPTION

I mention this, not that all Orthodox theologians deny it, though some do very explicitly deny it, but to illustrate the different development which took place in the West and left the East comparatively unaffected. The development of an explicit doctrine of the Immaculate Conception originated in the Pelagian denial of original sin, which denial forced Latin theology to consider the nature of original sin, and hence to formulate more explicitly some of the relations between nature and grace in a way in which Orthodox theology was not forced to do. The sinlessness of the *Theotokos*, her closeness to her Son, her absolute accord all through her life with all the designs of her Son, her singular place in the economy of salvation – all this was and is common to Greeks and Latins alike. Common, too, was the belief that Mary was redeemed by her Son and redeemed in a most singular way. Mary as the second Eve was not a concept that arose in the West, but in the East, – at least as far as we know; Mary as the type of the Church is to be found equally among Greek theologians and among Latin, and the Orthodox hold strongly that the Church is without sin, however much sin there may be in the members of the Church. But the Latins, having had to deal with Pelagius's denial of any original sin at all, had had to analyze the notion of original sin more explicitly than the Orthodox; and thus the Latins came to see more universally than the Greeks that Mary's singular privileges, as revealed in the Scriptures and the Church, carried the implication of total exemption from the common sinful inheritance of the rest of men.

The Orthodox, of course, held strongly both to the doctrine of original sin and to the privileges of the Mother of God; but they did not so early or so clearly connect the two. I conjecture that those Orthodox who deny the Immaculate Conception may be under the impression that exemption from sin implies either that Mary did not need redemption, or else that exemption from sin carries with it exemption from the natural *phthora*, corruption in the wide sense, which is the natural lot of all men save only the God-man.

Professor Jean Meyendorff thinks that the Latin doctrine of original sin involves some responsibility, meriting a punishment, on the part of all men, and that exemption from this responsibility involves exemption from all 'corruption' and hence exemption from death. The Orthodox doctrine, he says, of original sin involves 'a certain subjection, or even servitude, to the devil, who exerts a usurped, unjust and deadly tyranny'. Hence all men 'inherit corruption and death and all commit sin'. But Mary, being born by natural generation of Joachim and Anne, was mortal, and her corporal glorification came only after her death. Hence he objects to the doctrine of the Immaculate Conception.

But the Catholic doctrine of original sin does not involve any responsibility for the actual sin of Adam. Sin is spiritual disorder. If it is a personal sin, then the person is responsible for the disorder; but if it is original sin, then the originator of the race, and not the individual person, is responsible for the disorder. The spiritual disorder, which is signified by original sin, involves a privation of that original holiness and rightness in which God created man; it involves too, in the normal way, that subjection to the evil one of which Professor Meyendorff speaks; and it involves bodily corruption and death.

Christ was exempt from all sin, and from all spiritual subjection to the evil one; but he was not exempt from death, for he died, and by his death we live. The doctrine of the Immaculate Conception has nothing to do with the acts of Joachim and Anne; it only means that God exempted the future Mother of his Son from the spiritual disorder of sin and from that subjection to the evil one which leads all ordinary men to actual sin. Mary was born mortal, a true child of our race in that her natural lot was death. She was the second Eve, and it was precisely her immaculateness which, by God's unmerited, spontaneous gift, prepared her for the *fiat* through which God sent his Son to be the second Adam, head of the new race, born of a sinless Mother. On the subject of the Mother of God, I think Latins

and Orthodox have the same mind, though perhaps language may sometimes be misleading.

The different heresies which arose in the West inevitably directed attention and interest to different aspects of the Christian revelation, and led to different terminologies. Donatism, Pelagianism, the conversion of vast masses of Vandals, Goths, Franks and the need to introduce a penitential discipline (even in Britain, where Theodore the Greek had such influence) — which penitential system developed into doctrines about Purgatory and the condition of the dead — Adoptionism in Spain, which continued to be a difficulty even well into the eighth century, false theories about Predestination, (e.g. Gottschalk and Hinckmar) in the ninth century, the Berengarian heresy about the Eucharist, which provoked or led to great development in Eucharistic devotions in the eleventh and twelfth centuries, the Abelardian rationalism and the Albigensian controversies of the twelfth century, the Waldensian heresies of the thirteenth — all these, before the Council of Lyons in 1274, gave a turn and an outlook to Latin theology which was certainly only a necessary explication of the common faith of East and West, but which inevitably gave an emphasis and an orientation to Latin theology which Greek theology had not. After the thirteenth century, Latin theology had to deal concretely with explicit conciliar theories of Church government, then with the Wycliffite and the Hussite heresies, then with Protestantism and its denial of the sacramental principle — or at least its denial of the seven sacraments, and of the sacrifice of the Mass, its abolition of the sacrament of penance and its deviation about the whole nature of grace as hitherto conceived by East and West alike, then the Jansenist heresy with its denial of universal redemption, and its Gallicanism, then the struggles against Josephist erastianism and the struggle against rationalism and liberalism — all this necessarily affected the West in a way in which the East was not affected.

The two traditions were not in any way contrary, but they developed in a different mental atmosphere, and were expressed in different language. The historical background of theology became different and the connotations of diverse terminologies became different. What is most astonishing, considering the conditions of separation for centuries, is not the diversity of the traditions, but their agreements. Both Orthodox and Catholics have held firmly and unwaveringly to the doctrines of the Trinity and the Incarnation; both hold the sacramental view of life, the seven mysteries or

sacraments with all that they imply about the nature of God's communication of himself to men; both hold strongly to the communion of saints and to devotion to the Mother of God; both defend the authority of the episcopate, and the monastic life with its reverence for celibacy. I confess I cannot persuade myself that there are any differences which should prevent the most complete reconciliation.

The papacy? It is a large question, and space does not permit any adequate consideration of it, beyond the following quotation from a remarkable article by Fr Alexander Schmemann in *St Vladimir's Seminary Quarterly*, vol. 4, nn. 2-3, 1960:

The fateful 'jurisdictional' divisions in the Russian Church outside Russia are ultimately rooted in the question of ecclesiastical *submission* to the various 'supreme authorities', i.e. to the question of primacy. ... The development of Church life in America is deeply handicapped by the absence of any connection between the ten Orthodox national jurisdictions, which for lack of *a centre of communion* are practically isolated from each other. Here also the position of primacy, and consequently, of an *initiative* of 'rapprochement' is quite central.⁴⁸

The question of 'primacy' is being studied from a new point of view and is being rethought. Dr A. M. Ramsey has said: 'A primacy should depend upon and express the organic authority of the Body; and the discovery of its precise functions will come not by discussion of the Petrine claims in isolation but by the recovery everywhere of the Body's organic life, with its Bishops, presbyters and people. In this Body Peter will find his due place, and ultimate reunion is hastened not by the pursuit of "the Papal controversy" but by the quiet growth of the organic life of every part of Christendom.'⁴⁹

Catholics, of course, will scarcely accept the suggestion that the precise function of the primacy is still to be discovered, though they readily admit that the actual forms in which the primacy is exercised may vary. But with that limitation, Catholics, I think, will welcome Dr Ramsey's remark that controversy, especially about the Petrine claims in isolation, is not likely to be helpful. St Ignatius of Antioch, writing before A.D. 110, said that the Church of Rome

⁴⁸ p. 72.

⁴⁹ *The Gospel and the Catholic Church*, London, 2nd. ed., 1956, p. 228. Dr E. L. Mascall cites the passage in *The Recovery of Unity. A Theological Approach*, London, 1958, p. 196.

'presided in love'⁵⁰ and St Ambrose referred to St Peter as the one whom Christ 'was leaving behind for us as the vicar of his love'.⁵¹ The primacy of 'jurisdiction' is founded upon and is dependent upon a primacy of what I venture to call 'caritatisdiction', a primacy in charity; and only when we are able to have a meeting of minds and hearts in that conviction and feeling will reconciliation come.

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⁵¹ *Exposit. in Evang. sec. Lucam*, i. 10, n. 175, Migne, *Patrologia Latina*, xv, 1942.

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APPENDIX

In 1932, was published a

REPORT OF THE JOINT DOCTRINAL COMMISSION APPOINTED BY THE OECUMENICAL PATRIARCH AND THE ARCHBISHOP OF CANTERBURY FOR CONSULTATION ON THE POINTS OF AGREEMENT AND DIFFERENCE BETWEEN THE ANGLICAN AND THE EASTERN ORTHODOX CHURCHES.

The results of the deliberations about the Holy Spirit was summarized as follows:

The Doctrine of the Holy Spirit

On the difference which has prevailed between the East and the West concerning the doctrine of the Holy Spirit we record the propositions adopted by the Conference held at Bonn in the year 1875. While we reject every proposition or form of expression which implies the existence of two principles or archai or aitiai in the Holy Trinity, we consider as acceptable the teaching of St John of Damascus and of earlier Greek Fathers that the Holy Ghost proceeds from the Father through the Son.

In the resumé of the proceedings, the following occurs under Term VII and Term VIII:

TERM VII

THE CHAIRMAN then read Term VII - of the Doctrine of the Holy Spirit:

'Whereas there has been a difference, as between the East and the West, in the language used concerning the eternal procession of the Holy Spirit, so that it has been the custom in the East to say that the Holy Spirit proceeds from the Father, and in the West that He proceeds from the Father and the Son, we recognize that both forms of expression may rightly be used, and that they are intended to express the same faith. While we reject every proposition or form of expression which implies the existence of two principles or archai or aitiae in the Holy Trinity, we accept the teaching of St John of Damascus and of the earlier Greek Fathers that the Holy Ghost proceeds from the Father through the Son.'

The Orthodox Delegates stated that the teaching of St John of Damascus of the eternal procession of the Spirit from the Father through the Son was lawful theological opinion in the Orthodox Church but not binding dogma.

THE METROPOLITAN OF THYATEIRA pointed out that the expression 'through the Son' was introduced by the Fathers of the Church with the object of checking the tendency borrowed from non-Christian thought of imagining that there could be successive generations in the Godhead.

PROFESSOR ARSENIEV proposed to alter the phrase: 'We accept the teaching of St John of Damascus', to 'We consider as acceptable the teaching of St John of Damascus'. This was agreed to on both sides.

TERM VIII

THE CHAIRMAN read Term VIII:

'And whereas in the Western Church at some time in the sixth or seventh century the words "Filioque" were added to the Creed, we agree in acknowledging that this addition was not made "in an ecclesiastically regular manner"; and that in assemblies of Easterns and Westerns the one Creed of the Universal Church ought to be recited without those words; but we are also agreed that, since the added words are used in an orthodox sense, it is lawful for any Church which has received the Creed as containing these words to continue so to recite it in the Services of the Church.'

CANON DOUGLAS said the omission of the 'Filioque' in ordinary

Anglican Services would cause needless pain to many thousands of simple people.

PROFESSOR ARSENIEV said that such a concession could only be made by an Oecumenical Council; otherwise there could be partial but not complete intercommunion.

THE METROPOLITAN OF TRIKES held that the 'Filioque' ought to be deleted after explanations had been given to the laity.

THE METROPOLITAN OF BUKOVINA said that the position of the Orthodox Church in Poland and Rumania with regard to the Uniates would become impossible if they permitted elsewhere the use of the 'Filioque'.

THE METROPOLITAN OF THYATEIRA suggested the following re-drafting of the Term:

'We agree that the addition of the "Filioque" to the Creed in the sixth century was unlawful; and since it is granted that the addition can lead to error, the error that the Spirit proceeds out of the Son eternally as a separate principle in the Godhead, we agree that this addition ought to be taken away, being careful that this removal should take place after full explanation to the laity for the avoidance of scandal.'

He added that the local retention of the 'Filioque' was beyond the power of that Commission to determine.

THE CHAIRMAN asked the Metropolitan of Thyateira for a copy of his suggested emendation.

The Conference adjourned after a Blessing by the Archbishop of Dublin.

The Propositions adopted by the Bonn Conference read as follows:

Appendix V

PROPOSITIONS ADOPTED BY THE BONN CONFERENCE

I

1. We agree in receiving the Oecumenical Creeds and dogmatic decisions of the ancient Undivided Church.

2. We agree in acknowledging that the addition of the 'Filioque' to the Creed did not take place in an ecclesiastically regular manner.

3. We acknowledge on all sides the representation of the doctrine of the Holy Ghost as it is set forth by the Fathers of the Undivided Church.

4. We reject every proposition and every method of expression in which in any way the acknowledgment of two principles or archai or aitiai in the Trinity may be contained.

II

We accept the teaching of St John Damascene on the Holy Ghost, as it is expressed in the following paragraphs in the sense of the teaching of the ancient Undivided Church:

1. The Holy Ghost issues out of the Father, as the Beginning (archē), the Cause (aitia), the Source (pēgē), of the Godhead.¹
2. The Holy Ghost does not issue out of the Son (ek tou Yiou), because there is in the Godhead but one Beginning (archē), one Cause (aitia), through which all that is in the Godhead is produced.²
3. The Holy Ghost issues out of the Father through the Son.³
4. The Holy Ghost is the Image of the Son, who is the Image of the Father,⁴ issuing out of the Father and resting in the Son as His revealing power.⁵
5. The Holy Ghost is the personal production out of the Father, belonging to the Son, but not out of the Son, because He is the Spirit of the mouth of God declarative of the Word.⁶
6. The Holy Ghost forms the link between the Father and the Son, and is linked to the Father by the Son.⁷

¹ De Recta Sententia, n.1; Contr. Manich, n.4.

² De Fide Ortho. i. 8.

³ De Fide Orthod. i.12. Cont. Manich, n.5. De Hymno Trisag. n. 28. Hom. in Sabb. S.n.4.

⁴ De Fide Orthod. i.7. *Ibid.* i.12.

⁵ De Fide Orthod. i.13.

⁶ De Hymno Trisag. n.28.

⁷ De Fide Orthod. i.13.

EAST AND WEST: TWO THEOLOGIES, ONE FAITH¹

by Georges Dejaïve

THEOLOGY might be defined as *gnosis*, the only true and authentic kind, which was commended by St Paul to his disciples and acclimatized in the nascent Christian world by the Alexandrian Fathers. This *gnosis* is understood differently by East and West according to the difference of 'movement' which governs their whole attitude to Christian faith and life.

All theology, in so far as it is a true *gnosis*, starts with *Revelation*, that is to say with the manifestation of the mystery of God which surpasses all understanding and which is realized and present in Jesus Christ and in his message of salvation. The East, in its longing for union with God, sees this revelation as a foretaste of the world to come, the reflection of a light through a cloud of unknowing, a half-seeing which causes us to desire a still greater brightness, a subdued light rather than a shining brilliance. The Christian West on the other hand, which seeks rather the transformation of this world according to the vision which it has of God, is more conscious of the positive aspect of this *Revelation*, of all that it adds to the knowledge which we can acquire by natural reason in its own right. It thus sees more the luminous aspect of dogma, for it is by this dogma that God speaks to us and desires to give us a definite direction by which we, and through us the world, may be guided on our way towards himself. For the West, *Revelation* is a light, *lumen vitae*; a substitute no doubt, in many ways gravely imperfect, but none the less a God-given substitute for the light of the beatific vision, and which thus possesses the intellectual precision of a canon or rule: 'regula fidei'.

¹ Owing to the exigencies of the present volume, it has been necessary to omit the first third of the author's text, by his kind permission, and begin immediately with the main argument.

The same Revelation is thus being seen from two points of view; both entirely valid, but which necessarily in turn determine different conceptions of what theology is, of its nature and of its method. The Christian East and West, in embarking on the one hand on what has been called since pseudo-Denys the way of *negative* or *apophatic* theology, and on the other on that of *affirmative* or *cataphatic* theology, are surely both being entirely faithful to the spirit of their own mystical tradition.

And before we go any further, it must be strongly emphasized that *both* traditions affirm unanimously the utter transcendence of God: 'Deus semper maior intellectu nostro'. It would be as unjust to affirm, on the one hand, that it is only Eastern theology which takes account of this transcendence and that the Latin West has fallen irremediably into a kind of rationalism, as it would be to affirm on the other hand that oriental theology is irrational and ultimately agnostic, and that it is only Latin theology which takes the fact that God has revealed himself in Christ seriously. Here, as elsewhere, the difference is a difference of *accent*, from the starting-point of an essentially identical act of faith in the true God.

We have said that the Christian East tends to see Revelation as a reflection of the divine mystery, diffused as it were through a dark cloud. In its desire to be united with the source of this reflection, it is always striving to rise above the reflection, partial and limited as it inevitably is, towards the infinite flame itself. Apophatic theology is precisely this constant, ever-upward movement of desire, which despises all earthly or merely human limitations.

For the West, Revelation is like the sky which is lighted by stars in the night. It attaches itself to their light, feeble though it is, and seeks to capture it as it converges in order to illuminate the road, as the course of a ship is regulated by the stars, hence its preoccupation to remain on the level of a rational method which progresses only from one ray of light to the next, avoiding such an excess of light that the result is only a higher kind of darkness. Such is the way of affirmative theology, which follows the method of human discourse, moving carefully on from one point to the next in order to arrive at the conclusion. It is this difference of conception which explains the diversity of theological method.

Apophatic theology, which is always very conscious of the inevitable limitations of our human concepts, founded as they are

upon created realities, prefers the method of *antinomy*, or paradox, as a way of attaining the divine reality which is beyond all concepts and all discourse. If God essentially surpasses the capacities of the human mind, it is argued, it can only be possible to attain Him in the realm which lies beyond understanding, by transcending the methods which are proper to ordinary knowledge in simultaneous affirmation and negation. God 'is'; God 'is' not – these two affirmations are both equally true and equally untrue. In reality, God is beyond being and not-being – 'hyperousia', 'hyperousiotes' is the terminology of pseudo-Denys – and it is this thought that has dominated classical Orthodox theology in its approach to revealed truth. This seems to me to be true of every aspect of Orthodox theology. Several Russian thinkers, such as Father Florensky², have seen this quite clearly, and in fact it was stated already by Gregory Palamas in his controversy with Barlaam and those who followed him.³ The consequence is that the two theologies differ as it were all along the line, in their use of reason and of concepts as in their use of enunciations and of arguments. The Oriental theologian refuses to natural reason the normal exercise of its activity when it is applied to divine things, and he is always conscious that our human understanding needs to be baptized, in other words to be elevated above itself, if it is to affirm with any confidence the 'coincidentia oppositorum' which lies beyond its normal scope. From then on it can only have recourse to the experience of faith; which is why Orthodox theology appears as an *experiential* theology, based fundamentally on the Church's experience of her own faith. It is this experience which forms its starting-point, and it is to this experience that it returns, by way of a succession of antinomical affirmations, in concluding that the divine realities can be attained only in the silence of ecstasy, because of their superabundant intelligibility.⁴

² Florensky says: 'Dogma as an object of faith invariably includes an element of intellectual antinomy. If this antinomy is eliminated, the affirmation is intellectually "closed". There can then be no more question of a dogma, but of a scientific proposition.' *Pillar and Foundation of the Truth*, in *Oestliches Christentum*, Philosophie, II, p. 87.

³ Cf. *Capita theologica*, c. 123; P.G. 150, 1205 D.

⁴ Father Cyprian Kern notes: 'These rational conflicts and antinomies find their best solution in the living experience of the Church's liturgy. ... In this experience of the fullness of the Church's life, by an immediate experience of the Church herself, is to be found the accordance and reconciliation of the affirmative theology with the negative.' (*Irénikon*, 1947, p. 23.)

Affirmative theology is quite different from this, for it seizes hold of the positive content of the affirmations of the faith. It has confidence in the power of reason as it seeks to confront them, with the aid of the principle of analogy, yet at the same time it is careful to understand these affirmations aright and to guard against premature conclusions or syntheses. Hence the ardour and zeal of Latin theology in multiplying conceptual constructions, while seeking ceaselessly to correct them by making an almost infinite number of distinctions, and, in short, in pursuing tirelessly the ideal of a *rational synthesis*, which is founded upon faith and in which God may as it were dwell without fear of idolatry.

It seems to me that it is this difference of attitude in regard to the degree of confidence which is accorded to the discursive and technical use of reason that explains the prolonged and constant mutual incomprehension which has dogged the centuries-old dialogue between East and West.

The struggle against Eunomius and his rationalism left a profound impression upon Oriental thought. It has inherited an instinct which makes it regard the faith as a sacred domain into which one may only penetrate in imposing silence upon the reason and upon every attempt to explain the mystery. This difference becomes clear at once if we compare, for example, Gregory of Nyssa's *Contra Eunomium*⁵ with the intellectual daring of, say, Marius Victorinus, the converted neoplatonist who was Augustine's master for the 'De Trinitate'. This anti-rationalism became reinforced later in the sensibility of Byzantine monasticism and in particular in Palamism. A few concrete examples will serve to illustrate the opposition of these two theological 'ethos'.

There is, to begin with, the long controversy about the Filioque, in its specifically speculative aspect. On this question, it is interesting to see the conflict of the two traditions – Latin in the form of Thomism, and Orthodox in that of Palamism – in one of the greatest representatives of this latter movement, Nilus Cabasilas (XIV century). In his 'De processione Spiritus Sancti', the author, in making a closely-argued criticism of St Thomas' triadology, takes exception to the pretension to seek to explain and to reduce to rational terms this 'first principle' of all theology which is the mystery of the Holy Trinity. If this mystery surpasses our reason,

⁵ Cf. *Contra Eunomium*, XII, P.G. 45, 940-941.

as St Thomas himself admits, why then seek to explain it?⁶ He then proceeds to a refutation of St Thomas' syllogisms, point by point, with a dialectical subtlety which makes him the rival of his opponent. What is here of special interest to us, is his refusal to apply to the order of divine things rational principles which may well be perfectly valid in the natural order, and he is particularly rabid against the well-known axiom 'in divinis sola est originis oppositio relativa'. Even if this principle is verified in the natural order, he says, to apply it without further ado to the Trinitarian processions can lead only to the obscuring of the proper mode of their distinction.⁷ Further on, when he finds in the sixth syllogism the Thomist and Augustinian explanation of the processions, of the Word as the intellect and of the Holy Spirit as love, Cabasilas reproaches the Latins with trying to know more than the Holy Spirit has revealed: 'The Latins pretend to know that which the Holy Spirit has hidden, when He has reserved the knowledge of these things for Himself alone; and they accuse us of impiety when we say that we are not satisfied by their explanations'.⁸ It would seem to be the same apophaticism which explains the refusal of Orthodox theologians to accept the explanations of the Latins about the Filioque.

This tenacious defence on the part of the Orthodox of what they feel strongly to be an *ἀπόρρητος* – an intangible mystery – is surely wholly sincere. In the Trinity, the divine Persons are revealed as distinct in themselves, in the unity of nature which is of the Father. To desire to break open this sanctuary by introducing internal oppositions and the sort of sacred relay race which results from the Latin theory of active spiration seems to them to be pure nonsense. The discussion at the Council of Florence between Mark of Ephesus and his Latin interlocutors – as indeed the recent dialogue published by *Istina* on the same subject – could provide abundant material to illustrate this difference of approach, which is a spiritual difference rather than a strictly philosophical one.⁹

* Cf. Candal, 'Nilus Cabasilas et Theologia Sancti Thomae – de processione Spiritus Sancti, *Studi e Testi*, 116: 'Quae cum ita sint, ea quae in theologia christiana antiquissima et fundamentalia sunt, qualia censentur Deum unum trinumque esse, et primam causam esse ingenitam, alteram vero personam generari, tertiam autem procedere, haec inquam necesse est tanquam primarum propositionum principia sine inquisitione supponantur' (No. 11, p. 195).

⁷ *Ibid.*, No. 87, p. 257, and No. 92, p. 261.

⁸ *Ibid.*, No. 162, p. 314.

⁹ Cp. *Russie et Chrétienté*, 1950-3-4, lecture of Wukhowsky, pp. 204/5.

This same preoccupation with safeguarding the divine transcendence against the invasion of the ever-curious reason which respects no mystery is, it seems to me, at the very source of the Palamite movement. It would be superficial to treat this movement simply as a monastic reaction against the invasion of scientific methods into the sacred domain of spiritual things, like that of Peter Damian in the history of Latin theology; in canonizing Gregory Palamas in 1368, the Church of Constantinople was recognizing a defender of Orthodoxy and indeed of its whole spiritual inheritance. Palamas' task was not only to defend faith and mystical experience as higher forms of knowledge than those which are open to the discursive reason, but it was also to elaborate a theology which was capable of safeguarding this principle against excessive interpretations. His doctrine of the 'divine energies' was elaborated in order to safeguard the inaccessibility of the divine Essence and at the same time to account for Its communication 'ad extra'. It is not possible for man to attain to the Essence of God, even in heaven: for as he is unnamable, so also is he inaccessible. Nevertheless we can and do attain him in that which he reveals to us of himself, in the fact that he does reveal himself: his face which is turned towards us. God reaches us through his energies, which are distinct in him from his Essence, but which are in him neither substance nor accidents; and we see him in heaven by his uncreated Light, of which the light of Tabor was for the Apostles a manifestation and an anticipation. It is beside the point for Latin theology, in the name of an analogical concept of perfection, of pure Act, to reject this multiplicity of quasi-accidents, and to judge it to be incompatible with the simplicity of the divine Essence. The whole of the 'Theophanes' dialogue, and also a part of the *Capita Theologica*, are there to explain that this antinomy is necessary if one is to preserve the distinction between nature and will in God, and between the contingency of the created order and the gratuity of the supernatural.¹⁰ Thus Mark of Ephesus, at the Council of Florence, refused absolutely to accept the Thomist conception of a vision of God in his Essence. For him such a position was to pretend to the possession of God, and consequently to *be* God, for he alone possesses himself.¹¹

The gulf which divides this theology of St Thomas' of the vision according to the Essence from the sort of possessive idea of the

¹⁰ Cf. Theophanes, P. G., 150, 909-960; and Candal, *Innovaciones palamíticas*, Orient. Christ. Period., 1946 (XII), pp. 242-261.

¹¹ Cf. P.G., t.15, pp. 157-161.

vision which is dreaded in it by the Orthodox theologians, is evident to every Latin from the outset. The problem is not in the doctrine itself, but in the difficulty of explaining in a satisfying manner this Thomist and Catholic position to an oriental tradition which has never ceased to accentuate the inaccessibility of the divine mystery and the unknowability of God – the holy ‘agnosia’ – even in heaven.

It is clear that Oriental and Orthodox theology has a *dynamic* character, an *élan* which carries it ever beyond its own discoveries towards the inaccessible: and even those theological constructions which it does elaborate are intended as no more than pointers towards an experience which infinitely surpasses them.¹² We never find in Orthodox theology, therefore, systems which claim to be in any way complete or definitive, like the great syntheses which were elaborated by the Latin scholastics during the Middle Ages. Even St John Damascene’s *De fide orthodoxa* cannot be regarded as such a system.

In this constant tending towards the ineffable reality of the Eschaton, we may I think recognize the specific characteristic of the Holy Spirit, manifested with special emphasis in Oriental theology. It is not without some justification that the contemporary theologian Tyciak has described this theology as a Pneumatic theology, in contrast to Latin theology which can be called a theology of the Word, Who, as the principle of the co-ordination of the whole of the cosmos, has ordained all things with wisdom, gravity and measure.¹³

This diversity of approach is perhaps principally apparent in regard to the central mystery about which in fact the two Churches are opposed: the doctrine of the Church. One is inclined to wonder whether Father Palmieri was not right when at the end of his two volumes of *Theologia Orthodoxa* he makes the following judgement: ‘radix schismatis in notione Ecclesiae latet ...’ and adds: ‘It is this notion which must be clarified as fully as possible, leaving aside the other divergences which have grown up around it like the shoots of

¹² Cf. what Lossky says of this method: ‘We are in the presence of an antinomical theology which proceeds by the opposition of propositions which are contrary but equally true. ... The object of this antinomical theology being not to forge a system of concepts, but to serve as a support for the human mind in the contemplation of the divine mysteries. ... The antinomy elevates the mind from the realm of concepts towards the concrete realities of Revelation.’ ‘Théologie de la lumière chez Grégoire de Thessalonique’, in *Dieu Vivant*, No. 1, p. 100–102.

¹³ Cf. Tyciak’s book: *Weg östlicher Theologie*, in the last Chapter entitled ‘Eigenklang und Begegnung von Osten und Westen’, pp. 143 sq.

a tree, and which serve more as a delight for the learned than to clarify the efforts of those who are sincerely seeking to build peace between the Churches'.¹⁴ Thus, more than five centuries later, he coincided with the judgment of the great Palamite Nilus Cabasilas who, in his treatise *De causis dissensionum in Ecclesia* saw the principal obstacle to the healing of the schism in the refusal of the Pope to call together an ecumenical Council to examine the controverted points. It is not in dogma, he said, that the difficulty lies; for dogma is greater than any of us, and has in any case already caused many discussions in the Church without a schism necessarily resulting. Neither is the cause of dissension to be found in Holy Scripture, nor yet in the supposed ambition of the Greeks who are said to want to take the first place in the Church which belongs only to Rome. The true source of the schism lies in a different manner of conceiving the government of the Church.¹⁵

I believe that both these authors are right, but that one can go further and say that the ultimate difference, itself rooted in the difference of theological and spiritual vision, lies in the manner of conceiving the Church itself. And is the principal obstacle here not perhaps to be found in two different ways of understanding the relationship between the Church and the final Kingdom? With its special sensitivity to the eschatological aspect of the Church, Orthodoxy always sees the Church here below in the perspective of the coming Kingdom. It tends to see it as already participating in the glory, and its members in their quality of elect members of the Kingdom, with all that this implies for their quality as persons. The fact that there is in the Church a hierarchy of authority is no doubt inherent in its earthly situation, but Orthodox theology does not linger over this fact, for this organization is neither final nor definitive. What counts in the Church, is holiness, and the charismatic gifts which lead to it; in other words, the things which will endure and which will be manifested in the final assembly of the elect, of which the eucharistic *koinonia* is the anticipation and the icon.

How different is the perspective in the West! Here the historical and militant aspect of the Church, in which the organizational element is primary, is not only not forgotten, but even sometimes appears to absorb all the rest. If there is a danger, it is the converse of that into which the East may fall: the West has to combat the tendency to absorb the Kingdom into the Church, and to absolutize the latter's institutional forms. The danger is not imaginary, and its

¹⁴ Op. cit., t.2, p. 160.

¹⁵ P.G., 149, 683-700.

presence is betrayed by the undeniably considerable weakening of the eschatological dimension which is to be seen in the Church of Rome. In the Middle Ages this 'incarnation' of the Kingdom of God here below went so far that prerogatives were attributed to the Pope which belong only to Christ, who is alone King of the ages; prerogatives which He himself expressly refused during His earthly life. That of the 'two swords' would be an example. To this may be added the juridicism which is so characteristic of the Latin Church, and which has marked even our theological language so strongly ('de *jure* divino', 'de *jure* humano'; 'debitum'; 'ex condigno', 'ex congruo'; 'titulo justitiae', and so on. Even our treatise *De Gratia* is full of this juridicism!). And we have a noticeable tendency to harden situations which in reality are contingent and historical into rigid canonical precedents, and into procedures which, once established, we consider to be immutable. If we are to be frank, can we in fact say that we have always known how to distinguish – in the exercise of the papal Primacy, for example – between the essential dogmatic signification, and the various contingent elements which derive from historical evolution. Do we, in other words, always make sufficient effort to distinguish between the 'id quod' and the 'modus quo'? The Oriental, who is perfectly capable of being not a whit less juridical than the Latin in practice, is not so in his theological thought, which is much more ontological than ours; and he cannot understand the importance which we give in our Church to questions of law. The difficulty which profoundly upright and intelligent minds in Orthodoxy, like Bulgakov for example, have in 'realizing' what is meant by the dogma of the Vatican Council, is without doubt a sign neither of bad faith nor of a lack of the will to understand, but quite simply of an incapacity to meet us on our own ground. And the question is, is this ground upon which we maintain our stance so tenaciously the only possible, valid and legitimate point of view? Is there not perhaps reason to ask ourselves whether, in expressing the truth in terms of our particular language and theology, we are being sufficiently careful to allow all the facets of this 'precious pearl' of Revelation to shine in their full brightness, in the infinite diversity of the wisdom of God ...?

It is time to conclude, which we will do by offering for further reflection a few conclusions which would seem to result from our short study, and which may in turn serve to clarify the second question which we formulated at the outset: how, from the starting-point of two such diverse theologies, can we come to the unity of a

single dogmatic faith? It should by now be clear that the problem is not an easy one. There will be no great difficulty, perhaps, in commanding general agreement that Revelation as the divinely given Word, and theology as man's effort to understand it, are to be distinguished. Dogma lies precisely at the intersection of Revelation and theology, since it is on the one hand truly a new incarnation of God's Word in human language, and yet on the other it is radically dependent upon the limitations of human concepts and modes of thought. In the Latin tradition we should be all too well aware of this to day, involved as we are in the thought and modes of expression of our predecessors which we find less and less adequate to express our contemporary problems.

Our theologies have their limits. There is no such thing as a revealed theology, not even our own. Different theologies are perfectly compatible within the same faith, and indeed have the right to be allowed to be heard as elements within a single Christian tradition. They should in fact be seen as being mutually complementary, a fact which is clear enough in the case of the negative and the affirmative theologies, as pseudo-Denys himself admits. I do not think that it would be legitimate to desire to reduce them to uniformity, nor indeed that such a thing would be possible. It would no doubt be a grave error to imagine, if there is still anyone capable of such an idea, that if one could convert all the Orthodox to Thomism one would have made a great step forwards towards the union of the two Churches. To surrender to such a mentality would be to hinder still further the cause of unity, as anyone with the slightest knowledge of Orthodoxy must be aware.¹⁶

It is none the less indispensable that we should be agreed on the same dogma, which can and should be transcendent in relation to our different theologies. And here, it seems to me, we need to be rather more conscious of the limitations of our dogmatic formulations. They are true, and divinely authenticated in their positive content; but how inadequate their mode of expression, the conceptual framework with which they are clothed often is, when it comes to signifying the truth in question to all manner of minds. The

¹⁶ Cf. the admission of Father Cyprien Kern in the book which we have quoted: 'It is not difficult to reconcile Roman Catholicism and Palamism, but it is impossible to insert and to acclimatise the latter theology in the rigid forms of Thomism. ... The apophatic and antinomical theology which is that of the majority of the Fathers, the mystical theology which is presupposed by the Oriental liturgy, can with difficulty be made to enter into the framework of Thomism' (*Irénikon*, 1947, p. 188, and *Anthropologia*, p. 315).

dogma of the Vatican Council, for example – the famous 'ex sese, non ex consensu Ecclesiae' – is in its literal meaning simply incomprehensible to an Orthodox, when taken as it stands. One may indeed ask whether it would not be incomprehensible to a Catholic also, were it not for the lengthy explanations of the Council's Deputation of the Faith.¹⁷ In this connexion, it is one of the great tragedies of our divisions that our dogmas have been defined unilaterally, in terms often of one particular theological tradition. At the Council of Trent, happily, different theological schools collaborated together in the formulation of the various dogmatic declarations, with the result that these were in no case dependent upon the theological language of any particular school. One may therefore legitimately look forward to the day when the Orientals will join with us in formulating, in a manner which will safeguard and respect their characteristic way of approaching God, the dogmas which are common to us all.¹⁸

We should not be alarmed at the prospect of thus arriving at a plurality of dogmatic expressions; this is perfectly allowable, provided that the fact of their agreement has been accepted by all, and that all profess the same faith and adhere to the same Revelation, whose divine richness transcends all its possible expressions. This principle of plurality has already been accepted by the Church at the Council of Florence.

¹⁷ Cf. our article 'First among the Bishops', *E.C.Q.*, vol. xiv, Spring, 1961, pp. 2-25. Also 'Sobornost or Papacy', *E.C.Q.*, Autumn, 1953, pp. 121 ff.

¹⁸ On the subject of the Primacy of the Pope, Erwin von Kienitz, in his review of *Der christliche Osten-Geist und Gestalt* (Pustet, 1939), says as follows: 'What the West sees in the Primacy of the Pope is above all his Primacy of Jurisdiction *de jure*; the East on the other hand allows him only Ignatius of Antioch's "primacy of charity", thus solely a spiritual primacy of love. It is the task of an enlightened unionistic theology to show that these two concepts are perfectly able to be reconciled with each other. The practice of the Church could here be of great assistance, by limiting the exercise of the primatial rights to a minimum, in its attitude to the Orientals who are already united to Rome, and by imposing prudent limits to the activity of the various executive authorities. Only then will there be some hope of overcoming the instinctive suspicions of Oriental Christians, when it has been clearly demonstrated to them that it is neither politico-religious ambition nor a desire for Latinizing uniformity which causes Christ's Vicar to seek to gather and to govern under his sole Primacy the one flock of Christ in both East and West, but the love of Christ, for the realization of the visible unity of the *Catholica*, of which the inner fullness, universal extension and true vitality depend in the very first place upon the complementary duality of the Eastern and the Western Church' (*Hochland*, 1939-1940 Heft 10, p. 412).

The way of reconciliation is thus open: for there is nothing to prevent us from entering into a friendly and fraternal dialogue, if each participant is prepared sincerely to seek to understand the other.

Is it not true that we have for too long, in the Catholic Church, carried on a monologue? Is it not perhaps time for us to listen, humbly and in silence, that we may understand better the ways by which our separated fellow-Christians go to God, so that we may more easily help them to come closer to us, by following their own way?

The Latin West and the Orthodox East are different, as different in their theologies and in their whole behaviour as man from woman. The present divorce will only be brought to an end when each will have felt his need of the other, and, in an awareness of the respective limitations, will have sought first to understand the other and to respect him in his diversity, in order the better to love and to unite.

THE PROBLEM OF ECUMENICAL ENCOUNTER

by George Florovsky

PÈRE M.-J. LE GUILLOU, O.P., has recently suggested that various forms of ecumenical 'confrontation' could be conveniently classified under the following five headings: (1) Controversy; (2) Concordance; (3) Critical History; (4) Symbolics; (5) Écumenics.¹ Mgr Gustave Thils, in his new book, offers another scheme: (1) Confrontation by what he calls – *oppositions massives*, a suitable term to denote the very spirit of controversy as such; (2) Search for common foundations – *le fonds commun*, and it may be the common background, or a common ground, or both; (3) The method of 'radical intuitions' – in the sense of detecting the deepest 'roots' or over-arching principles of particular systems and trends; and finally (4) 'Existential Confrontation'.² These two schemes considerably overlap, but the emphasis is not quite the same in both cases. The title of the essay of Père Le Guillou suggests that there was a gradual move 'from controversy to ecumenical dialogue'. It is obviously true on the whole. It seems, however, that various manners of approach in matters ecumenical are rather standing types of attitude than consecutive stages of development. All different manners may be employed at the same time. Indeed, 'controversy' has not yet ceased, in spite of the conspicuous growth of a new 'ecumenical spirit', and may burst out again with a renewed vigour, or can be deliberately rekindled. Actually, 'controversy' is

¹ M.-J. Le Guillou, 'Dès controverses au dialogue oecumenique', in *Istina*, 1958, I, pp. 65-112.

² Gustave Thils, 'La "Théologie Oecuménique". Notion – Formes – Demarches' (= *Bibliotheca Ephemeridum Theologicarum Lovanensium*, vol. XVI), Louvain 1961, pp. 15-46.

still going on, if in the guise of a 'cold war' or of an 'armed neutrality'. The method of 'radical intuitions' is basically no more than a subtle and refined form of 'controversy', and works to the same effect – 'massive opposition'. 'Existential confrontation' is, perhaps, a recent discovery. Yet, even 'controversial engagements' have an obvious 'existential' character, and a very definite *Sitz im Leben*. The spirit of controversy is still conspicuously active in the 'ecumenical dialogue'.

It can be reasonably contended that in the past controversies very often had, as their immediate objective, the maintenance of the *status quo*, that is – radical discrimination. In many instances the main purpose of controversy was rather to protect the faithful, and to denounce error, than to convert dissenters. There was a habit of thinking in sharp and rigid antitheses which, by their intrinsic nature, would not admit of any reconciliation: an absolute disjunction – *sic or non*. The ultimate aim was just refutation, pure and simple. And the list of dissensions was not seldom deliberately inflated. Père Le Guillou quotes in this connection Joseph de Maistre, and concludes: 'The very logic of this kind of controversy was to develop and to justify opposition for its own sake'.³ In this situation, of course, there was no room for any encounter, for any exchange of views, but only for combat and condemnation. Now, this method of 'total refutation' is still widely employed. 'Controversy' as such, for its own sake, is, of course, a false manner of confrontation. And it is, in fact, a sterile method. No religious problem has ever been solved simply by debate or fight. The 'wars of religion' led nowhere and only bred passion and distrust. On the other hand, controversy cannot be easily avoided in the midst of actual contradictions, in the divided state of Christendom. The 'heresy hunt' is, indeed, an unhealthy and uncharitable endeavour. Yet, 'heresies' do exist. 'Oppositions' are not simply invented by controversialists – they are a brute fact of life. Christendom is split and divided. There are 'major differences' – in belief and commitment, and they separate and estrange Christians from each other. The method of 'radical intuitions' only makes these disagreements more radical and burning, by focusing attention on the essentials, on the deepest roots. In this respect, paradoxically, John Adam Moehler was much more radical than Cardinal Bellarmin. There was in Moehler a radical discrimination between the Church and the

³ Le Guillou, p. 74.

Reformation. The method of 'concordances', and the 'care for equivalents' – *le souci des équivalences*, in the phrase of Mgr Thils,⁴ do not resolve the ultimate tension. This tension cannot be resolved by any dialectics, in any dialectical synthesis. In most cases there is no *via media*.

The real deficiency of the controversial method is the lack of Christian perspective. The method of 'radical intuitions' can be vitiated by the same default. The question may be put in this form: Is 'Christian Unity' broken so radically that no meeting ground has been left? Indeed, what is this meeting ground, if any? It must be accurately circumscribed. Excessive 'eirenism' can be no less damaging for the cause of reconciliation and misleading than rigid segregation. Indeed, there is still some 'visible unity of Christians', even in the present state of disruption.⁵ Christendom is still united – to some extent, in some way, in a certain sense. And, it is true, in our own time this is more readily acknowledged than in the old days of our forefathers. Yet, on the other hand, Christendom is sorely and spectacularly divided. It is disunited to such an extent that often 'communication' and even 'understanding' become hardly possible at all. One gets rather an impression of 'massive opposition'. Here lies the sting of the problem, the sting of the 'ecumenical paradox'. One may be tempted to overpress the aspect of unity, and to take away the edge of the paradox, just as one may be tempted to exaggerate the depth of the discord. To keep the delicate balance of the paradox is not an easy task. Moreover, one should not identify too easily 'Christendom' as a historic congerie of separated 'denominations' with the Church. Indeed, the basic problem of disunity and reunion is an ecclesiological problem, in the strictest sense. It would be in vain to claim that there is no 'major disagreement' between the 'divided Christians' concerning the nature and constitution of the Church. In fact, in the contemporary ecumenical vocabulary the word 'Church' has become the most abused and ambiguous term.

The unity of the Christian mind had been lost long before communion was broken. The Schism was first consummated in mind before it was manifested in action. The universe of discourse was first reduced, and then split. 'Catholicity' of mind has been sorely defeated by the spirit of local loyalty and allegiance. This was

⁴ Thils, pp. 32-35.

⁵ See, for instance, the recent article of Frère Max Thurian, 'The Visible Unity of Christians', in *The Ecumenical Review*, vol. XIII. 3, April, 1961, pp. 313-334.

the root of great Oriental schisms in the fifth and sixth centuries. This was the root of the major schism, of the 'separation' between the East and the West. Indeed, the break was never complete. The common ground has never been lost. But its existence was overlooked and forgotten. It would be quite out of place now to attempt any thorough analysis of the gradual process of mutual estrangement which led finally to the break of communion between Byzantium and Rome. The problem is highly controversial, and it is not easy to achieve agreement in the interpretation of this tragic story. It would suffice, in the present context, to emphasize but one aspect of the total process: the disintegration of the Christian tradition. The Greek East has overlooked, and then ignored, the rise of Latin theology. The West never knew thoroughly the Greek Fathers. The common language in theology was gradually lost. The habit of dwelling in different mental worlds was gradually growing. There was, indeed, little 'care for equivalents', and little care for accurate rendering of the thoughts of the other. Of course, this is a simplified version of the whole story. There were notable exceptions in all ages. It is still very hard to recover a common idiom even in our time. It is even harder to recover the vision of common Christian history. One can in the West, in our own days, write a history of the Church universal without mentioning the Eastern Churches except casually and sporadically.⁶ This attitude, however, can be formally justified by the assumption that, strictly speaking, since the Schism with Rome, there was actually no 'Church' in the East but only scattered Christians.⁷ Of course, this contention may be dismissed as a polemical exaggeration, and many Catholic theologians and historians would wish to tame it down or, at least, to qualify it carefully. Yet, the prejudice is widely spread and does actually control the ecumenical vision in many quarters. Christian universality is readily interpreted as universality of the West. Again, there are notable exceptions.

Now, indeed, there is undoubtedly a major doctrinal disagreement between the Roman West and the Orthodox East. And this basic disagreement must be faced in its proper dimension. But, in fact, this disagreement, theological and ecclesiological, is sorely

⁶ See, for instance, the standard manual by Joseph Lortz, *Geschichte der Kirche*; the 20th edition appeared in 1959.

⁷ See, e.g., Wilhelm de Vries, s.j., 'Die Haltung des Heiligen Stuhles gegenüber der getrennten Hierarchie im Nahen Osten zur Zeit der Unionen, in *Zietschrift für die katholische Theologie*, Bd. 80, 1958, ss. 378-409.

entangled in a broader tension, cultural and political, between the East and the West. Arnold Toynbee only stated plainly the common prejudice of the West when he contended, in his *Study of History*, that 'Western Christian Society' was a 'self-explanatory' realm. The 'Eastern Christian Society' was a world apart, and also 'self-explanatory'. Accordingly they had their separated histories. Thus, there was no room for any common history of Christendom. Toynbee is not a theologian, and his historical interpretation is open to doubts and objections. But his voice is highly significant – Toynbee only voiced aloud the common bias of the West. Curiously enough, Toynbee is not so original as it is often supposed. A very similar theory of various closed – and 'self-explanatory' – worlds has been presented by a Russian writer, Nicholas Danilevsky, in his book: *Russia and Europe*, which had already appeared in 1871. Already Vladimir Solovyov has shown that, in fact, this theory was derived from a German source: a German manual of Universal History by Heinrich Rückert (*Lehrbuch der Weltgeschichte*, 1857). Solovyov vigorously attacked this theory as incompatible with the Christian understanding of history. Moreover, the theory of independent 'Christian societies' is a historical fiction, a sinful and dangerous fiction. Indeed, Christendom is divided. Yet, even the divided parts still belong together, since they are just 'parts' and 'fragments'. Accordingly, they are intelligible only when taken together, in the context, and against the background, of that original Christian unity which had been broken. The recovery of the comprehensive Christian vision – of common Christian perspective – is by no means an easy task, after so many centuries of estrangements and tension. But it is an impending task. The inveterate illusion of self-sufficiency must be broken down. It is an absolute prerequisite of any genuine ecumenical encounter.

II

In the year 1833 Metropolitan Philaret of Moscow published a small but important book, under a lengthy title: *Conversation between the seeker and the believer concerning the orthodoxy of the Eastern Greco-Russian Church*. The primary objective of the book was to dissuade people from going over to Rome. But the spirit of the book was truly ecumenical. 'I do not presume to call false any church which does believe that Jesus is the Christ. A Christian church can only

be either purely true, professing the true and saving Divine teaching without false admixtures and pernicious opinions of men, or not purely true, mixing with the true and saving teaching of faith in Christ the false and pernicious opinions of men' (p. 27 f). The phrasing is rather unfortunate and the term 'church' is used in the large and vague sense. But the thought is plain and clear. In the concluding conversation Philaret resumes that thought. 'You expect now that I should give judgment concerning the other half of present Christianity, but I just simply look upon them; in part I see how the Head and Lord of the Church heals the many deep wounds of the old serpent in all the parts and limbs of this body, applying now gentle, now strong, remedies, even fire and iron, in order to soften hardness, to draw out poison, to clean the wounds, to separate out malignant growths, to restore spirit and life in the half-dead and numbed structures. In such wise I attest my faith that in the end the power of God patently will triumph over human weakness, good over evil, life over death' (p. 135). The language is heavy and old-fashioned, but the wide embrace of the ecumenical vision is obvious. Philaret had a comprehensive view of Christendom.

On the other hand, knowledge of the Christian West was very limited in his time in the Russian Church. The situation was peculiar. Western influence was quite considerable in Orthodox theology from the seventeenth century, both in the Near East and in Russia. Not seldom Western manuals were directly used in Orthodox schools, in a rather promiscuous and eclectic manner, Roman and Protestant together. One may even speak of a certain Western 'pseudomorphosis' of Orthodox theology.⁸ And yet there was no real 'encounter' with the West. Influence and imitation are not yet 'encounter'. The study of the West in the East was limited to the needs of polemics and refutation. Western weapons were used to fight the West. Apart from the polemical literature, one does not find anything important in the field of 'comparative theology' or 'symbolics'. These terms were not used at that time. The most conspicuous contribution to the field were essays of Khomiakov, and they also were polemically minded. It must be noted, however, that

⁸ Cf. my article, 'Westliche Einflüsse in der russischen Theologie', in *Kyrios*, II, I, 1937, and also in the *Comptes Rendus* of the First Congress of Orthodox Theologians in Athens, Athens 1938; in the same volume there is an article of the late Archbishop Chrysostomos Papadopoulos on the Western influences in Greek theology.

in spite of his strong polemical emphasis and sharp discrimination, Khomiakov was committed to the large view of Christian Unity. The West was for him still 'a land of holy miracles', and not only in the past. The break of unity was for him the major tragedy of Christian history. The West was for him an estranged world, but not a foreign world. He could find a common ground with William Palmer, rigid as he may have been in his epistolary conversation.

The problem of Christian Reunion was formally raised in Russia by Vladimir Solovyov. His main concern was with the 'Great Controversy', that is, with the schism between East and West. Solovyov firmly believed in the unity of the Church in spite of the schism. He had little interest in the Protestant world, except in his late years, and then in an apocalyptic perspective. In his affirmation of the existing unity – between East and West – Solovyov went obviously too far and could not fail to provoke anxiety and apprehensions on both sides. There was a heavy admixture of dream, impatience and wishful thinking in his conception. His analysis was often hasty and rather superficial. His knowledge of the Catholic West was strangely limited and highly selective. He was always more interested in theocracy than in theology proper. He paid little attention, if any, to the theological tensions between East and West. He had but one concern – unity. On the whole, Solovyov's interpretation of the historic 'Separation' between the Eastern and Western churches was very much the same as that theory of 'branches' of the Church Catholic to which Newman was committed in the Anglican period of his search. 'Separation', according to this conception, was no more than a historic estrangement, a canonical break, an interruption of visible communion and communication, a loss of mutual acknowledgement and recognition. The Catholic structure of the Church was not vitiated by this estrangement. The way toward unity was, accordingly, the way of mutual recognition. This was precisely the programme of Solovyov. It does not seem that Solovyov had ever studied any Tractarian literature, although he must have been well acquainted with William Palmer's story and search. Solovyov firmly believed that Orthodoxy and Rome were essentially the same Church. Only the outward manifestation of unity was inadequate and incomplete. No Orthodox could go over to Rome, according to this scheme, simply because he was already there – implicitly, without acknowledging it. All objections which have been raised against the Anglican

'branch-theory', both from the Roman and from the Orthodox point of view, are valid also against Solovyov. Moreover, Solovyov did not succeed in disengaging the problem of Christian Unity from the narrow sociological and political setting in which it had been discussed for a long time. He was not quite consistent at this point. It is true, indeed, that he put up the problem of Christian unity as a strictly ecclesiological problem. But his own ecclesiology was lacking in depth, and his dubious doctrine of Sophia only confused and obscured the actual issue. Christian reunion was for him, first of all if not exclusively, a 'political' endeavour, a problem of 'Christian politics' – that typical term of his. He was discussing the problem of reunion as a peculiar Slav or Russian problem, and in this respect he never overcame the Slavophile bias to which he was wholeheartedly committed in his early period. Only in his last years did Solovyov partially liberate himself from his earlier Utopian dreams. Reunion of all Christians has become an eschatological expectation, beyond the limits of history. This time it was a Reunion of three major branches of divided Christendom. It seems that now Solovyov was influenced by Schelling and, probably, by Jung Stilling. On the whole, the impact of Solovyov was ambiguous and ambivalent: he both stimulated and inhibited 'ecumenical thinking' in Russia. He could not fail to provoke protest and resistance. His thought was often misunderstood and misinterpreted. He has misled some few enthusiasts who were addicted to the most Utopian aspects of his thought. Solovyov sorely underestimated the real depth of tension between the two traditions and could not, therefore, initiate any genuine conversation between the separated partners in the common quest. He did not help the West to grasp the deepest ethos of the Christian East, and his zealous followers in Russia did even more harm in this respect. Nor did he help the Russians to appreciate the treasures of the Western tradition – in worship and spirituality, in Christian philosophy, and in other fields, of which he probably was not fully aware himself. He gave a shock to Russian thought, but not an impulse or guidance.⁹

Two particular ecumenical themes were discussed in Russian theological circles in the later decades of the last century. The first

⁹ Solovyov's views and attitudes were variously interpreted, and there is no real agreement between the students of his life and thought on many basic issues. His theological ideas need a new and impartial study, and I hope to attempt an essay in reinterpretation in the near future.

was posited by the *Los von Rom* movements in the West, and especially by the Old Catholic movement. Some Orthodox theologians, mainly Russian, were involved in the dialogue at the reunion conferences at Bonn in the seventies. Discussion on the ecclesiastical status of the Old Catholic Church was resumed in the nineties and carried on without much advance. Comparatively more fruitful was the discussion on the *Filioque* clause. No 'existential' *rapprochement* has ever taken place between the Orthodox and Old Catholics. The second theme of ecumenical significance was connected with the relations between the churches of Anglican Communion and the Orthodox. There was a long tradition in these contacts. However, they were sporadic and had no wider ecclesiological resonance.¹⁰

The method employed in these conversations was a composite of 'controversy' and 'concordance'. It was a kind of exercise in 'comparative theology' – registering agreements and disagreements, with the hope that sufficient 'agreement' may be reached on the essentials in order to make mutual recognition possible. There was no deeper experience of unity and both partners in the conversation were mainly concerned with the retention of their actual historic traditions, in spite of persistent reference to the norms of the 'undivided Church'. It seemed that nothing beyond mutual recognition of formal character has been intended and sought. And this recognition could hardly bring any genuine unity. Thus, sooner or later, the ultimate ecclesiological problem had to be brought to the fore. Moreover, in the course of theological discussion a deeper difference has been discovered than was expected, a difference which ultimately could be traced to the basic divergence of Eastern and Western traditions. The Western partners were hesitant about many points of Eastern tradition which, however, could not be isolated from each other. This could not fail to create uneasiness on the Orthodox side. The fence has not yet been broken – conversations were conducted, as it were, over the fence. This fence was not just an historical estrangement. One could not avoid the problem of 'schism'. Obviously, 'schism' is not just a human

¹⁰ Cf. my article, 'L'Oecuménisme au XIX^e siècle', in *Irénikon*, tome XXVII, 3 & 4, 1954, pp. 241-274 & 407-447; English text in 'St Vladimir's Seminary Quarterly', [Vol. IV, 3 & 4, 1956.] New York. See also the informative article of the late Dom Clement Lialine, o.s.b., 'Vieux-catholiques et Orthodoxes en quête d'union depuis trois quarts de siècle', in *Istina*, 1958. I, pp. 22-64.

separation, it affects also the basic structure of Christian existence. There may be some partial truth in the contention of the 'branch theory' that historic estrangement does not destroy Christian Unity completely, insofar as certain substantial links are preserved – in the realm of doctrine, devotional practices, canonical arrangements. But all these links have but an abstract character, are just 'detached principles' which does not secure any real communion in being. Are 'schisms' still an integral part of the Church universal? In the case of Old Catholics the question was raised on the Orthodox side, whether they could be simply 'recognized as Orthodox' on the basis of some satisfactory statement of faith, or whether they had to be formally 'received' into the Church. There was a vigorous clash of opinions among Russian theologians at this point. It has been strongly contended by some influential theologians that all non-Orthodox Christians were actually 'outside of the Church' in the full sense of this word. Whatever weight this contention may have – and obviously it needs careful and accurate qualification, it is obvious that pure 'agreement in faith' does not, by itself, constitute 'unity in the Church'. 'Doctrinal agreement' alone does not suffice. 'Membership in the Body' is the decisive feature. On the other hand, even this statement may be made in an abstract and formal way; the terms of 'membership' may be formalized, and divorced from 'the faith'. It is spiritually unsound to be satisfied with comprehensive 'excommunication'. The ultimate problem then escapes attention.¹¹

III

The problem of Christian unity and disunity is a permanent problem in the Church and for the Church. But at certain periods of history this problem assumes special urgency, not only on the theological level, but as a burning issue of Christian existence. This is obviously true of our own time, difficult as it may be to detect clearly when 'our own time' actually began. In any case, the problem has been conscientiously taken up and searchingly discussed by Russian churchmen and theologians since World War I. Emigration to the West made the meeting with the West unavoidable,

¹¹ Cf. my article, 'The Limits of the Church', in the *Church Quarterly Review*, Nr 233, October 1933, pp. 117–131; also 'The Doctrine of the Church and the Ecumenical Problem', in the *Ecumenical Review*, 1950.2, pp. 152–161, and 'L'Oecuménisme', *Irénikon*, XXVII. 4, pp. 441 ff.

much as many would have wanted to remain in their habitual mental world.

The method of 'radical intuitions' has been widely used, in order to detect and identify the 'ethos' of Western Christianity: it has often been assumed, rather uncritically and summarily, that there was a single and unique 'ethos' of the West, much as 'the West' has been split by the Reformation. It was a dangerous assumption; the nature of the 'Crisis of Reformation' could be sorely obscured by such an approach, and cultural analysis could be easily substituted for genuine theological analysis.

The most spectacular use of this method can be found in the various writings of Leo Karsavin, and especially in his ambitious essay, *The lessons of the repudiated faith*, which has never been translated in any Western language and therefore has not been given sufficient attention in ecumenical literature. Karsavin was a brilliant historian, especially competent in the field of mediaeval studies. He had peculiar skill in speculation and literary art, and his historical imagery was always impressive. But he could never escape the dangers of excessive constructivism. In the particular essay just mentioned he attempted to derive the whole system of Roman Catholicism, directly and one-sidedly, out of one particular doctrine, the doctrine of *Filioque*, which he regarded as vicious heresy. In fact, his interpretation of Roman Catholicism was changing in the course of his life, and it so happened that when dying in a Soviet concentration camp, he had to receive the last sacrament from the hands of a Roman priest of Eastern rite. It is irrelevant in the present context to follow his arguments in detail. What is relevant is the method and the implicit assumption of 'massive opposition' between East and West. There is an even deeper implication in the method itself: there is no desire for 'comprehension'; one enjoys distinctions, antitheses, confrontations. Karsarvin had a perfect command of historic material and an unusual skill in grasping inner connections in thought and life. But one cannot get rid of the impression that all his images are overdone. We get a brilliant construction of systems, and yet do we really grasp the 'existential' dimension of faith and life? In any case, especially because Karsavin persistently assumes that there is an absolute coherence and consistency in all systems, one always moves in the dimension of systems. What is especially important to note now is that Karsavin rehabilitated the method of 'radical intuitions', by exhibiting such a brilliant specimen of its applica-

separation, it affects also the basic structure of Christian existence. There may be some partial truth in the contention of the 'branch theory' that historic estrangement does not destroy Christian Unity completely, insofar as certain substantial links are preserved – in the realm of doctrine, devotional practices, canonical arrangements. But all these links have but an abstract character, are just 'detached principles' which does not secure any real communion in being. Are 'schisms' still an integral part of the Church universal? In the case of Old Catholics the question was raised on the Orthodox side, whether they could be simply 'recognized as Orthodox' on the basis of some satisfactory statement of faith, or whether they had to be formally 'received' into the Church. There was a vigorous clash of opinions among Russian theologians at this point. It has been strongly contended by some influential theologians that all non-Orthodox Christians were actually 'outside of the Church' in the full sense of this word. Whatever weight this contention may have – and obviously it needs careful and accurate qualification, it is obvious that pure 'agreement in faith' does not, by itself, constitute 'unity in the Church'. 'Doctrinal agreement' alone does not suffice. 'Membership in the Body' is the decisive feature. On the other hand, even this statement may be made in an abstract and formal way; the terms of 'membership' may be formalized, and divorced from 'the faith'. It is spiritually unsound to be satisfied with comprehensive 'excommunication'. The ultimate problem then escapes attention.¹¹

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¹¹ Cf. my article, 'The Limits of the Church', in the *Church Quarterly Review*, Nr 233, October 1933, pp. 117-131; also 'The Doctrine of the Church and the Ecumenical Problem', in the *Ecumenical Review*, 1950.2, pp. 152-161, and 'L'Oecuménisme', *Irénikon*, XXVII. 4, pp. 441 ff.

much as many would have wanted to remain in their habitual mental world.

The method of 'radical intuitions' has been widely used, in order to detect and identify the 'ethos' of Western Christianity: it has often been assumed, rather uncritically and summarily, that there was a single and unique 'ethos' of the West, much as 'the West' has been split by the Reformation. It was a dangerous assumption; the nature of the 'Crisis of Reformation' could be sorely obscured by such an approach, and cultural analysis could be easily substituted for genuine theological analysis.

The most spectacular use of this method can be found in the various writings of Leo Karsavin, and especially in his ambitious essay, *The lessons of the repudiated faith*, which has never been translated in any Western language and therefore has not been given sufficient attention in ecumenical literature. Karsavin was a brilliant historian, especially competent in the field of mediaeval studies. He had peculiar skill in speculation and literary art, and his historical imagery was always impressive. But he could never escape the dangers of excessive constructivism. In the particular essay just mentioned he attempted to derive the whole system of Roman Catholicism, directly and one-sidedly, out of one particular doctrine, the doctrine of *Filioque*, which he regarded as vicious heresy. In fact, his interpretation of Roman Catholicism was changing in the course of his life, and it so happened that when dying in a Soviet concentration camp, he had to receive the last sacrament from the hands of a Roman priest of Eastern rite. It is irrelevant in the present context to follow his arguments in detail. What is relevant is the method and the implicit assumption of 'massive opposition' between East and West. There is an even deeper implication in the method itself: there is no desire for 'comprehension'; one enjoys distinctions, antitheses, confrontations. Karsavin had a perfect command of historic material and an unusual skill in grasping inner connections in thought and life. But one cannot get rid of the impression that all his images are overdone. We get a brilliant construction of systems, and yet do we really grasp the 'existential' dimension of faith and life? In any case, especially because Karsavin persistently assumes that there is an absolute coherence and consistency in all systems, one always moves in the dimension of systems. What is especially important to note now is that Karsavin rehabilitated the method of 'radical intuitions', by exhibiting such a brilliant specimen of its applica-

tion.¹² Karsavin's influence was strongly felt in the writings of the late Vladimir N. Lossky, who was at one time, in the twenties, very close to Karsavin. There is the same basic assumption that East and West are in a permanent opposition to each other, the same skill in presenting the inner cohesion of ideas within each particular system, the same conviction that *Filioque* is the root of the whole trouble. All this is done by Lossky with much more sobriety and caution, with more reverence and devotion, with more precision, and with a much more adequate and existential knowledge of Eastern tradition. The strongest point of Lossky was in his insistence that doctrine and spirituality were intimately correlated. In his last years Lossky was deeply engaged in ecumenical dialogue, mainly within the Fellowship of St Alban and St Sergius.¹³

The search for the distinctive 'ethos' of particular churches and denominations is an integral and indispensable part of ecumenical endeavour, especially if it is conducted with adequate discretion and precision, and in an open historical perspective. One cannot ignore, however, its intrinsic divisive aspect. Something else is needed to ascertain the limits of discrimination and distinction. Confrontation in theology is only fruitful if there is a hope of reconciliation. Otherwise it would inevitably end in fight and segregation. Indeed, there is an opposite danger — to reduce the tension, to ignore its existential roots. There is a greater danger — to suggest that, because of the utter improbability that historic splits can be ever healed on the ecclesiological level, one may seek unity in another dimension,

¹² On Karsavin see Bernhard Schultz, *Russische Denker*, Wien (1950), ss. 405-419. The article, 'Uroki otrechennoj very' (= *The lessons of the repudiated faith*) was published in the *Evrazijskij Vremennik*, vol. IV, Berlin 1925, pp. 82-154; cf. also Karsavin's article 'Der Geist des Russischen Christentums', in *Östliches Christentum, Dokumente*, hsgg. von Nicolai v. Bubnoff und Hans Ehrenberg, Bd. II, München, 1925, ss. 307-377. Karsavin was a prolific writer in the twenties, mainly in Russian. See also Dr Erich Franz Sommer, 'Vom Leben und Sterben eines russischen Metaphysikers. Ein verspäteter Nachruf auf Leo Karsavin' (+ 12.7.1952), in *Orientalia Christiana Periodica*, vol. XXIV, Roma 1958, pp. 131-141.

¹³ See especially his *Essai sur le théologie mystique de l'Eglise d'Orient*, Paris 1944; English translation — *The Mystical Theology of the Eastern Church*, London 1957; cf. the exchange of views concerning *Filioque* between Fr Vladimir Rodzianko and Lossky (in Russian) in the *Messager de l'exarchat du Patriarche Russe en Europe Occidentale*, Nrs 24 (1955) and 25 (1957). See also 'Memorial Vladimir Lossky, 1903-1958' — *Messager*, Nrs 30-31 (1959).

in which actual theological tensions become quite irrelevant.¹⁴

At this point Father Sergius Boulgakov must be quoted. He summarized his ecumenical vision in a brief programmatic article published in full only in Russian: *By Jacob's Well*.¹⁵ His main contention is well expressed by the sub-title: 'On actual unity of the divided Church in faith, prayer, and sacraments'. The Church is still one, in spite of all divisions which are caused, on the historic surface, by the ill and disruptive will of men. To this divisive will a unitive effort must be opposed. In fact, divided Christians can already meet conscientiously in common prayer. All reverent readers of the Word of God can already experience their common membership in the One Church, the Church of the Gospel. There is a growing mystical and ideological intercommunication between Christians in the field of theology and religious thought. There is already unity and agreement, although it is not fixed by any conciliatory formulas. By its very nature this unity escapes all strictures and canonical ruling. It is a spiritual unity. There is also a considerable agreement in doctrine. Concerning the sacraments, Father Boulgakov contends that, in spite of all canonical regulations, there is 'an invisible communion, as it were, *ex opere operato*'. Indeed, this communion is handicapped by the loss of Apostolic succession in Protestant denominations, and it must be restored. But, on the whole, sacraments can be valid even outside of 'the ecclesiological organization'. Moreover, 'doctrinal agreement' is not for him an indispensable prerequisite of sacramental communion. It is for that reason that at one time, Father Boulgakov projected a 'partial intercommunion' within the Fellowship of St Alban and St Sergius, provided dispensation was given by proper ecclesiastical authorities in the two churches. His proposal, however, met with strong opposition in the Fellowship itself.¹⁶ Father Boulgakov himself quoted Vladimir Solovyov. In a sense, his scheme is an extension of Solovyov's conception. Only there is in it much more of wishful thinking than in the daring Utopias of Solovyov, and much more

¹⁴ See, for instance, *Vision and Action*, by L. A. Zander, London, 1952, and my extensive review of this book in *The Christian East*, N.S., vol. II, Nos 3/4, 1953, pp. 112-120.

¹⁵ First published in the symposium: *The Christian Reunion. The Ecumenical Problem in the Orthodox understanding*, YMCA-Press, Paris (1933), pp. 9-32 (in Russian); there is an abridged English version, in *The Journal of the Fellowship of St Alban and St Sergius*, Nr 22, December 1933, pp. 7-17.

¹⁶ Cf. articles by E. Lampert in *Sobornost*, N.S. Nos 21, 22, 23 (1940 and 1941). Some time the whole story must be told in full.

naïveté and impatience. Boulgakov's ecclesiological conception is vague: it is vitiated by a kind of historic docetism.¹⁷

The search for Christian Unity is a noble and blessed endeavour. It seems, however, that the highest and most promising 'ecumenical virtue' is patience. One must proceed slowly. Modest study groups can help much more than glorious dreams and sweeping generalizations. The greatest promise lies precisely in the ecumenical dialogue. It is going on now, often in the most inconspicuous manner. Before any 'scheme of Christian reunion' can be offered, divided Christians must learn to know each other and to realize the real dimension and character of all divisive factors. Indeed, it is indispensable to have a 'will for unity'. But the nature of unity must be properly defined. Actually, from the Catholic point of view, both Orthodox and Roman, no 'scheme of union' is necessary, or even possible. The One Church is neither an invisible reality, nor is it a distant ideal. The One Church is a historic reality. Existing breaks and rifts must be healed and overcome in history, not by an escape from history. Moreover, one must distinguish the problem of 'Catholic reunion' and the problem of larger 'reunion' which should embrace, in the same 'Catholic' unity, those denominations which have lost or denied 'Catholic' structure. Now, the word 'schism' may be offensive. But is not schism a reality? One may rejoice to observe that in contemporary use the term 'schismatic' is increasingly replaced by the more complimentary term: 'Separated Brethren'. Only one should be certain that this change in phraseology is more than a courteous euphemism.

¹⁷ Cf. also articles by the late A. V. Kartashov: 'The Ways of Unity' (in the symposium *Russia and the Latin World*, Berlin 1923, pp. 141-151); 'The Reunion of Churches in the light of history' (in the symposium *The Christian Reunion*, pp. 82-120); both articles in Russian.

6

EDMUND BISHOP AND
THE EPICLESIS

by George Every

THE study of Eastern liturgies in the West began in and after the controversies of the Reformation. Very little material beyond editions of the Byzantine liturgies for use in the Venetian dominions (also used in Orthodox, Turkish Greece), and old and new translations of these, was in print before 1560.¹ Nearly all liturgiologists were active controversialists, concerned to defend liturgical prayer against attacks on the Roman mass or the English Prayer Book. They therefore had a practical interest in the antiquity of fixed liturgies, but also in making distinctions, where these were required by controversial needs, between present uses and the original forms. Their studies made them very much aware of the effects of practice on the pristine purity of liturgical texts, and as time went on they became more conscious of the variety in Byzantine liturgical manuscripts, and of the unreliability, by such standards as these provided, of modern editions intended for use. Hence their bias grew in favour of liturgies never used, or disused for a long time, like the one in the eighth book of *The Apostolic Constitutions* and the Greek liturgy of *St Mark*, or used very seldom, like the Greek *St James*.

This bias was strongest in England and Germany where controversy was fiercest, and developed with time into the position characteristic of most of the authors (generally but not all Roman Catholic), reviewed in Adrian Fortescue's handbook, *The Mass* (1912).² Most of them believed that the liturgy in *The Apostolic Constitutions* was a reasonably safe guide to the practice of the Church in the

¹ The exceptions are (somewhat oddly) Ethiopian. See Brightman, *Liturgies Eastern and Western*, Oxford, 1896, pp. lxxii-lxxiii.

² Especially pp. 140-71.

second and third centuries. A few went further and regarded it as a kind of apostolic equivalent of the modern Roman missal or the Book of Common Prayer. Others attached rather more importance to the local variations represented by *St James* and *St Mark*, and by a supposed archetype or archetypes of the many masses in the Gallican and Mozarabic books. The Roman canon in its present form was dislocated. (This was not so much an Anglican as a Roman Catholic view. Anglican liturgists said exactly the same thing about the Prayer Book.)

Edmund Bishop (1846-1917) had an opposite bias. In his early years a disciple of Acton, he passed from the old High and Dry Anglicanism straight to Rome through a brief phase of Ritualism.³ To him the original attraction of the Roman Catholic Church was thorough critical scholarship, what in England was called Germanism. He went as far in Modernism as it was possible for a Roman Catholic layman to go, further no doubt than, in the opinion of his time, any Roman Catholic should have gone. He was therefore always out of step with controversial apologetic (except on the question of Anglican Orders, where his collaboration with Gasquet gained him some popular reputation). In later life he detested Oxford and the Oxford Movement, including Newman. He preferred Cambridge, and haunted the British Museum, but only once entered the Bodleian. This illustrates the depth of his prejudice, and explains some aspects of it. He could never believe that Oxford men ever did any work on original sources, because he seldom saw them in the manuscript room. And he knew the Oxford scholars of the past entirely by their published work, never by their papers. He might have had a different opinion of the English liturgical tradition in the eighteenth century if he had noted some of the references in Hearne's diaries, or dipped into *MSS Grabe*. But in any case his primary interest, at least in his published work, was in period and place. He wrote:⁴

The history of Liturgy must remain a hopeless and irrational tangle so long as there is a failure to recognize freely and fully the cardinal factors that dominate, and must dominate, the whole subject, namely,

³ My debt throughout to Nigel Abercrombie's biography, *The Life and Work of Edmund Bishop*, London, 1959, will be evident and is here gratefully acknowledged.

⁴ In 'Kyrie Eleison', *Liturgica Historica*, Oxford, 1918, p. 123. (Henceforth this will be cited as L.H.)

the varying natures, spirits, and tendencies of the races and people that have found a home in the Christian Church.

What this means can be seen in his 'liturgical note' appended to the edition (by Dom Benedict Kuypers) of *The Book of Cerne*.⁵ This is a collection of private, not liturgical prayers, written in Latin in a manuscript that belongs to the first half of the ninth century and almost certainly to the English Midlands, but more probably collected in the late seventh or the early eighth century, in England but more likely in Northumbria than in Mercia. Here in this gathering of informal expressions of Latin piety, many liturgical influences meet. It was Bishop's part to disentangle them. This note is less well known than his other work, and often more illuminating. For instance on a prayer to the Archangel Michael (on p. 153):

et perducas eam (sc. animam meam) in locum refrigerii pacis et quietis.

Bishop produces more than nine closely printed pages (266-75) on the whole history of prayer for the dead in Latin, concluding that *requiem aeternam* is 'the aspiration of the mind and soul of the Goth', and *lux perpetua* Roman. In another place a number of prayers in *Cerne* are traced to one in the Harleian MSS after some tracts translated from St Ephrem the Syrian, and to another in the same MS containing echoes of the liturgy of St James. This manuscript has a connection with Spain (pp. 278-80).

At this time very little Spanish liturgical material was available apart from editions of the Mozarabic *Missale Mixtum* of Cardinal Ximenez, first published in 1500, edited by Alexander Lesley in 1755, and reproduced in Lesley's edition in Migne. Dom Férotin's editions of the *Liber Ordinum* and the *Liber Mozarabicus Sacramentorum* were still to come (1904 and 1912). Bishop had studied what manuscripts he could. His chief guide in dealing with Gallican and Mozarabic material was a small book by J. M. Neale and G. H. Forbes, *The Ancient Liturgies of the Gallican Church*, published in parts from a private press at Burntisland in Scotland from 1854, and never completed. He knew that the most valuable parts of this, the many cross-references to Mozarabic and Roman materials, were by Forbes, not by Neale.

The difference between Neale and Forbes was and is important.

⁵ Cambridge, 1902, pp. 234-83.

Neale belonged to the Oxford Movement in its Cambridge form, less objectionable to Bishop because Cambridge was not Oxford. He believed that the liturgy of S. James was quoted in the New Testament. Forbes was a Scottish Episcopalian, brother of the Bishop of Brechin. He spent much of his life in contending for the place of the Scottish Communion Office of 1764 in the Scottish Episcopal Church, where for many years this and the English Prayer Book were used side by side. He therefore belonged to a tradition of which Bishop spoke with disdain as originating 'for the sake of an intrigue that failed'⁶ between the Orthodox and the Non-jurors. But Forbes was a patient student of texts, who criticized the Tractarians and their Scottish allies from the standpoint of an older type of Highchurchmanship. Bishop wrote of him in the note on *Cerne* (p. 236) as 'facile princeps among all those who have dealt with Western liturgy in the last century', and in a 'consultation' of April and May, 1914:⁷ 'He, G.H.F., is a man whose every hint, whether he be found eventually right or wrong, I feel is to be attended to with solicitous care. He was a "thorough" man.'

Forbes believed that some Gallican material was derived from the Mozarabic, and that some of the material common to both was derived from the East (as he would say, from Ephesus) in the days of St Irenaeus. In this he agreed with Sir William Palmer of *Origines Liturgicae*, an Oxford authority. But he was particular. He believed that one of the so-called 'masses of Mone', a collection of variable prayers in a palimpsest from Reichenau of the seventh century, was composed in a particular persecution, and that all of them were written from dictation. Bishop could not accept this: 'Nothing, to my mind, can be more unsatisfactory than the attempts that have been made to fix the date of prayers by means of allusions supposed to be contained in them to current events; and we must be content to be ignorant.'⁸ But 'every hint' from Forbes was worth pursuit. In *The Genius of the Roman Rite* (1899) Bishop assumed what might be called the conventional view of the difference between East and West, that each Eastern anaphora is 'an unvarying form', while the mass in the West varies according to the season. In this he implies that no variable prayer could be older than the organization of the

⁶ In *The Journal of Theological Studies* (J.T.S. henceforth), x (1907), p. 601.

⁷ Printed by Mr Abercrombie as an example of his method at the end of his biography, henceforth cited as 'Abercrombie', p. 514. The date as we shall see (infra, p. 88) has some significance.

⁸ *The Genius of the Roman Rite*, in *L.H.*, p. 13.

ecclesiastical year. But in the note on *The Book of Cerne* Bishop denied that there had ever been 'a fixed Gallican standard mass-book' (p. 235). He did not go so far as to deny that the liturgies of the local churches were fixed, but what he says about 'the same sense of liturgical freedom under the Merovingian kings, in the seventh and eighth centuries, as ... under Louis XIV and XV', may imply as much. Only one of the 'masses of Mone' is assigned to a day in the calendar. I myself should be inclined to suppose that the variety found in the Mozarabic and Gallican books is older than the Church's year, a survival from the days of improvisation, that the masses noted by Forbes as 'written from dictation' were taken down in church by the *amanuensis* of an eloquent celebrant. I do not think that Forbes would ever go so far, and I doubt whether Bishop entertained the idea as early as 1902. But as we shall see, he came near to this possibility in his 'observations' on Dom R. H. Connolly's edition of *The Liturgical Homilies of Narsai*.⁹

Here he writes (p. 128) of the 'slow and gradual development in the West, even in quarters best inclined to novelty' as making 'an accurate and critical study of the western documents, as of rites under the process of making under our own eyes, a useful or even essential preliminary to the study of Eastern rites'. This point has been missed by those who find in the notes on *Narsai*, and other 'Comments and Memoranda' in the J.T.S., conclusive evidence of the absence of any epiclesis of the Holy Spirit before 350.

Bishop himself summed up the matter admirably in a letter to Armitage Robinson from which I am fortunately able to quote a little more than there is in Mr Abercrombie's book.¹⁰

(1) If the Invocation of the Holy Spirit characteristic of the Eastern Liturgies is an innovation, spreading over the East not earlier than c. 350-425/50, then the chief ground is withdrawn on which rests the theory that the Gallican and Mozarabic rites are of Eastern origin, and that the connection lies somewhere as early as the second half of the second century.

(2) More than this; the formulae in the Gallican and Mozarabic books which have been supposed to be survivals of that Invocation dating from the origins of Hispano-Gallic Christianity thus become really evidence of Eastern influence indeed, but an influence exercised

⁹ Cambridge, 1909, pp. 87-163.

¹⁰ On pp. 395-6. The additional quotation, Bishop's point (3), I owe to the librarian of Downside Abbey, and to Mrs Gullick, who made the enquiry for me.

not earlier than the fifth, and possibly or even probably only in the sixth, century.

(3) We can thus enquire without prejudice into the general intrinsic character of the Gallican and Mozarabic prayers, and the type of doctrine (eucharistic and other) they embody, without any of those pre-possessions in favour of their antiquity derived from formulae now found to be inspired by ideas in the Church not of the second but of the end of the 4th, and the 5th century.

(4) Quite apart from the eucharistic conceptions and ideas they embody, the (native) prayers of these ... books show not merely a strongly emotional (even rhetorical) type of piety and devotion (however sincere), but the forms of expression used (when compared with those of the Greek Liturgies and still more of the Roman books) are consistently of a materializing, I might say at times, almost physicizing and sensualistic, type.

This enquiry cuts both ways. If the Gallican and Mozarabic epicleses, examined without prejudice, appear to be native, they may be earlier, as they are certainly less articulate, than those of the East. Some of them might be called 'materializing', 'physicizing', 'sensualistic'. 'The dew of the Spirit' comes twice in the 'masses of Mone', where we find another prayer:¹¹

*Ut his creaturis altario tuo superpositis spiritus sanctificationis infundas,
ut per transfusione caelestis adque invisibilis sacramenti panis hic mutatur
in carne et calex translatus in sanguine sit totius gratia, sit sumentibus
medicina: per dominum.*

And in the Mozarabic Missal, in the mass for the second Sunday after the octave of Epiphany,¹² the *post-pridie* prayer is:

Ut oblationem hanc Spiritus tui (Sancti) permixtione sanctifices.

I have considered other examples in another place.¹³ Bishop tried to explain them as late infiltrations from Syria into fertile soil in Spain. As late as the summer of 1913¹⁴ he added a note on the 'influence of East Syrians on Western Piety and Devotion' to 'The Litany of the Saints in the Stowe Missal' in *Liturgica Historica* (pp. 161-3):

¹¹ In *Missale Gallicanum Vetus*, ed. C. Mohlberg and others, Rome, 1958, p. 86. See also pp. 82, 84.

¹² P.L. 85, c. 250, Lesley, p. 69, also in *Missa Quotidiana* iii of *Liber Sacramentorum*, ed. M. Ferotin, Paris, 1912, c. 517.

¹³ In *Basic Liturgy*, London, 1961, pp. 76-7, 88.

¹⁴ Abercrombie, p. 457.

It was something in the very nature of the Spanish and Irish character that was sympathetically moved by the new religious and devotional development, forms, or practices, brought with them by these Semitic Syrians from East to West: a something which was as the good ground in which the seed takes root and fructifies as if in the native soil which first produced it. Rome was in this matter as the rock; and if the Western, Greek-speaking Syrians for a time had everything in their hands there, they and their ways made no real impression on either Roman liturgy or piety; while the Franco-Gallic regions, if directly influenced by the East, were influenced rather by Greek than by Syrian Christianity.

But in another note in *The Journal of Theological Studies* for July, 1914,¹⁵ he took a different line, and wrote of

A conservatism in the Edessene and Latin Churches, a holding fast to the inherited, as contrasted with the 'making of all things new' to be found in the contemporary Greek Churches. It is precisely for want of such sort of help as a knowledge of the East-Syrian liturgy would afford that have been due, in the last century, those ideas as to 'primitive liturgy' which have prevailed in England, and made their appearance less than half a century ago in Germany. For whilst the liturgy of Addai and Mari, the normal liturgy of the East-Syrian Church, is quite Eastern in character, it is conservative of its ancient form and spirit, and will well enable us, thanks to the preservation (with other documents) of the liturgy of the Ethiopic Church Order, to get behind the existing Greek liturgies and to measure the wide distance that separates these last - in what is most important in their contents - from the primitive types.

This contention is supported by quotations from 'the words of a man who is perhaps at once the most acute, brilliant, and powerful of the younger German investigators into the early history of the Christian Churches', who in observing resemblances between the Western churches and the East Syrians makes 'this general remark: "Both Churches agree in this matter, not because they have mutually influenced each other, but because both of them, in contrast with many Greek communities, preserved what was ancient" ' in the 'revolution' of the fourth century. This German investigator is very uncharacteristically *not* named. He was E. Schwartz, and the reference was to *Busstufen und Katechumenatsklassen*, Frankfort, 1911, pp. 24, 51.

Bishop's silence is not quite so surprising when we realize that

¹⁵ xv, pp. 589-93.

this note of his was appended to a long article by Dom R. H. Connolly, *The work of Menezes on the Malabar Liturgy*. If Dom Connolly had seen and pursued the reference to Schwartz, he would certainly have discovered another work of his, *Über die pseudo-apostolischen Kirchenordnungen*, published in the same series in 1910. For Dom Connolly was already far advanced in an investigation of the mutual relations of the various church orders, published in 1916 as *The so-called Egyptian Church Order and Derived Documents*, in the Cambridge series of *Text and Studies*. Bishop, who was a very close friend of his, had read the tract of Schwartz in April 1911. Mr Abercrombie¹⁶ writes 'It seems impossible now to discover why he did not mention it to Dom Hugh Connolly until the summer of 1915', but notes a remark in a letter to Kenneth Sisam about 'a long and amusing story at the back ... too good and funny, that I must tell you some day'. He also suggests that part of the fun was at the expense of Oxford, but perhaps complicates the plot needlessly by saying that Armitage Robinson 'knew of Schwartz's tract in 1912/13 - no doubt through Bishop'. The Dean of Wells, who was also a friend of Dom Connolly's, was, after all, quite capable of discovering Schwartz for himself. If Bishop had told him not to tell their mutual friend the Benedictine, I can hardly believe that Robinson would have told W. H. Frere, as apparently he did,¹⁷ since Frere was a champion of the older tradition in English liturgical scholarship which Bishop, Connolly, Robinson, and J. H. Srawley regarded with distrust.

The trouble was that if Schwartz was right, the so-called Egyptian or Ethiopian Church Order was the work of Hippolytus of Rome in or before 217. That meant that there was evidence of an epiclesis of the Spirit in Rome, of all improbable places, in the early third century. The observations on *Narsai* would need drastic revision. The argument there against an early date for the epicleses in the East was fourfold. Bishop himself was cautious about considerations drawn from the history of dogma. He quotes in a note on p. 139 a Dr Schermann:

It is impossible that an Epiklesis could exist before the close of the fourth century, at least in the sense that an Invocation of the Holy

¹⁶ *Op. cit.*, pp. 417-8.

¹⁷ See Dom Gregory Dix in *W. H. Frere, a memoir* by C. S. Phillips and others, London, 1947, p. 133, with reference to Frere's contribution to essays on *The Early History of the Church and the Ministry*, ed. C. H. Turner London, 1918.

Ghost effects the change in the elements'. This may be so. I certainly think it is so. But I fail to find in treatises like Dr Schermann's *Die Gottheit* explanations proper to shew us, and make us understand, why this is so, and how it is that such an Invocation 'could not' generally exist.

Far more weighty is the argument from silence in controversies concerning the Holy Spirit's divinity (pp. 140-1):

One Father after another in the course of the pneumatomachian controversy enumerates in detail and explains the sanctifying operations of the Holy Ghost in the Church in proof and as evidence of His coequal Godhead. Whilst in these elaborate reviews holy baptism and its formulae are adduced again and again, no appeal is ever made to, not a word is said about, any Invocation of the Holy Ghost in the Eucharist, although the obvious opportunity for such appeal occurs again and again.

This argument is fatal to 'the idea of a single primitive rite from which the extant liturgies all derive' at least as a living memory in the middle of the fourth century. There was no form of eucharistic consecration directly corresponding to the common form of baptism. This is the great discovery of the observations on *Narsai* (p. 146), but it does not disprove the possibility of any epiclesis of the Holy Spirit, at this time or before. Nor does the third argument, from the invocation of the Word in the prayers of Serapion, and references to such an invocation elsewhere. The most weighty argument against an early epiclesis of the Holy Spirit, by Bishop's own standards, was the absence of textual evidence that can be dated with any certainty before 350. In 1908-9 Bishop followed F. X. Funk in believing that the 'Egyptian Church Order' was later than *The Apostolic Constitutions*. In February 1911 he heard from Dom Wilmart of Schwartz and in April read his book.¹⁸ In the same month in the J.T.S. he expressed some hesitations as to Funk's competence in liturgical matters,¹⁹ but his silence to Dom Connolly suggests that he was not wholly convinced. I would suggest that in the summer of 1913, when he wrote for *Liturgica Historica* on the influence of the East Syrians in Spain, he was still fighting a rear-guard action in his own mind against Schwartz, seeking some other explanation of the affinities between Syrian and Western liturgy than the old one of a common Oriental origin. But as Dom Connolly's researches proceeded, he was convinced.

¹⁸ Abercrombie, p. 417.

¹⁹ xii, pp. 397-8.

Dom Connolly's book, delayed by the many difficulties of publication in war-time, did not appear until the last weeks of 1916. Bishop died on February 19th, 1917, at the age of seventy, leaving to Sisam and Dom Connolly the preparation of the proofs of *Liturgica Historica*. His last published work (it would seem) is the note in *J.T.S.* for July, 1914, already cited. He had no opportunity to pronounce on Dom Connolly's book, but I see little doubt not only that he agreed with the arguments of Dom Connolly and Schwartz, but that he accepted an epiclesis resembling that in the liturgy of *Addai and Mari* as an integral part of the eucharistic prayer appointed for a new bishop in *The Apostolic Tradition of Hippolytus of Rome*.²⁰

This was too much for many whose starting point was the observations on *Narsai*. Dom Gregory Dix exercised the full force of his critical ingenuity to mutilate the epiclesis in *Hippolytus*, and Professor Ratcliff has since, to his own satisfaction, removed it altogether.²¹ But the textual evidence is, on balance, in its favour. Bishop and Dom Connolly could take this with equanimity, because they regarded the prayer as the work of Hippolytus himself, designed for the use of inexperienced bishops immediately after their consecration, not as the liturgy of the Church of Rome. The summary of the Paschal eucharistic thanksgiving points to a different line of approach to the composition of a prayer with the like structure, but both have parallels in the Mozarabic.

At the very end of his life Bishop was urging his Anglican friend, J. H. Srawley, to undertake a thorough investigation of Mozarabic and Gallican *post-pridie* prayers. An interim report on the Mozarabic, made after Bishop's death to Dean Armitage Robinson, was lent to Frere and left by him, with some other notes of Dean Robinson's, in a copy of Dom Férotin's edition of the *Liber Mozarabicus Sacramentorum*. There, on a visit to Mirfield, I found it in February, 1960. (I should like to think that Bishop had something to do with this.) Srawley wrote to Robinson on March 13th, 1917:

²⁰ Compare *J.T.S.*, xiv, pp. 585-7 (R.H.C.) with pp. 590-1 (E.B.). In the Latin and Ethiopian versions: 'We pray You to send the Holy Spirit upon the oblation of the Holy Church'; and in the Syrian also '... to grant that all who partake may be united and filled with the Holy Spirit for the confirmation of faith in truth'. This is not so explicit a prayer for the conversion of the elements as the later Greek epicleses.

²¹ In the *Journal of Ecclesiastical History*, vol. i (1950) parts 1 and 2. He has also removed the epiclesis from the original text of *Addai and Mari*, in *J.T.S.*, xxx (Oct. 1928), p. 29.

These Mozarabic prayers, in spite of the occasional appearance of 'Greek conversion' ideas, and occasional references to the operations of the H(oly) S(pirit), seem to me, subject to further light, to bear witness to the earlier, undeveloped, simpler, vaguer language of which we have evidence in Eg. (sic) Ch. Order, in East Syria, in Rome, and in some of the Gnostics. But there are many layers of material in Moz (sic)..

Srawley was here contending against W. C. Bishop,²² and others who wished to find behind the variables an original Mozarabic rite like *St James* or *St Mark*.

To take the few instances of most developed forms, e.g. those approximating to the Greek epiclesis, and claim that they are 'primitive' and that all the rest has been whittled down under the influence of a doctrinal presupposition ... seems to me a thoroughly topsy-turvy proceeding.

In a second letter of 26th March he expressed doubts of the anamnesis and invocation in *Hippolytus*: 'Both of them are very startling if as early ...' But he could not deny that the invocation was earlier than those in the classical Greek liturgies, and that it resembled not only the epiclesis in *Addai and Mari*, but also Gallican and Mozarabic prayers.

Srawley was a cautious and careful scholar, remarkably free from controversial passion, but he took some time to accustom himself to new ideas. He could not get away from the feeling that the question at issue was what was in 'the primitive liturgy of the primitive Church'. But when Bishop undertook to compile, with the help of Dom Connolly 'a tabular statement showing the body of ancient texts of the kernel of the eucharistic prayer',²³ he was looking for something different, more like the kind of community of structure that governs the diversity in a Gallican or a Mozarabic sacramentary.

This after all was Bishop's real *expertise*. I cannot but think that in a letter of his to Srawley in 1915, quoted by Mr Abercrombie (p. 282), the primary reference is to the Gallican and Mozarabic, not to 'the Roman formulae':

I am delighted to hear that you are 'taking to' Western things: and think when you can get hold of them you will find them more *interesting* than the Eastern ones - so much more human, much less merely

²² See *The Mozarabic and Ambrosian Rites*, edited from his papers by C. L. Feltoe, Alcuin Club Tract XV, London, 1924.

²³ *J.T.S.*, xv (1914), p. 592.

hieratic: also I fancy you will soon get to seize their religious 'value'. Their 'doctrinal' interest too is to my mind *great*. But it takes time to 'get into' them.

'Human' as opposed to 'hieratic' is not an expression that Bishop would use of 'the genius of the Roman rite'. I believe that at this time he was in pursuit of the old hint of G. H. Forbes, that some of the Gallican prayers were free compositions of the kind that we might expect to be of use in the very early Church. They were mediating forms between East and West²⁴ because they were survivors of a method of praying older than set liturgies.

Bishop's contribution to the discussion of the epiclesis was to call attention to links between theological and liturgical developments. These fall into two classes, Trinitarian and eucharistic. On the first, he was slow to escape from the influence of Harnack, who was inclined to read binitarian or unitarian beliefs into confused notions of the distinction between the Word and the Spirit. Some later liturgists, under the sway of the notes on *Narsai*, have written as if the early Church, outside Syria, had 'not so much as heard whether there be any Holy Ghost'.²⁵

On the second point he was inclined to identify primitiveness with restraint. This tendency was intensified when he wrote to or for Anglicans of the 'want of technical exactness in suggestion, found in details of' the Roman canon; 'a matter which did not escape those acute, eminently able, and most interesting writers, the great Anglican Divines of the seventeenth century'.²⁶ With this he was wont to contrast 'a presentment which marks the extreme limit of liturgical development in the sense of both Presence and Sacrifice up to to-day' in *St James* and *St John Chrysostom*, but not in *St Basil* and *St Mark*. This depends on a difference which he detected between the general intercessions in these liturgies, a new style ... introduced with the form "We offer ... for" after the

²⁴ See Abercrombie, p. 314 with reference to 'gatherings from *Moq.* for invocation and consecration' (1896).

²⁵ *Ac.* 19, 2.

²⁶ *Narsai*, p. 136. The reference is certainly to the appendix to Book 3 of Richard Field's treatise *On the Church*, in vol. ii of the Cambridge reprint of 1849, and William Forbes, *Considerationes Modestae*, edited by G. H. Forbes for the Anglo-Catholic library of theology. Both were extensively reproduced in the *Revue Anglo-Romaine*, Paris, 1895-6. Bishop remarks in a footnote on the same page in *Narsai* their impact on Louis Billot (afterwards Cardinal) in *De ecclesiae sacramentis*, ed. 1896, I, 550. It is perhaps possible that he was responsible for drawing Billot's attention to them.

epiclesis.²⁷ This he read as implying an oblation of the gifts as consecrated, but the verbs refer back to and depend upon the sacrificial climax before the epiclesis. I find it impossible to believe that a difference of so much moment between the two forms of the Byzantine rite, in an atmosphere so sensitive to theological nuances as the Byzantine world, would have escaped the attention of so acute and learned a commentator as Nicholas Cabasilas,²⁸ in his exposition of the doctrine that sacrifice and consecration are one.

Bishop was justified in contrasting Roman restraint with Eastern exuberance. He recognized that such expressions as 'drinking the Spirit', with reference to the reception of the eucharist had a long history in Syria.²⁹ What he thought must be late was their diffusion elsewhere, until he found the like idea in a prayer of Hippolytus of Rome.³⁰ Many³¹ would now hold that this prayer has been edited into conformity with Syrian ideas in the fourth century. But in the light of I Cor. 12:13, 'made to drink one Spirit', I find their arguments inconclusive.

In a very penetrating passage (pp. 315-6) Mr Abercrombie refers to Bishop's difficulties in arranging liturgies 'by relative doctrinal levels', and to his reluctance at that time (1902) to see a sacrificial rite in the simplicity of the Last Supper. But I believe that he did in the end arrive at an appreciation of what might be called the crudity of primitive Christianity, as yet unrefined by doctrinal development. His primary interest was in changes in forms of worship to meet new historical situations. His contentions have often been misunderstood by those concerned to find the purity of the primitive Church.

²⁷ Abercrombie, p. 435, citing *J.T.S.*, October, 1912, p. 149.

²⁸ In his *Commentary on the Divine Liturgy*, Eng. trans. by J. M. Hussey P. and McNulty, London, 1960, especially pp. 81-2.

²⁹ In *Narsai*, pp. 147-9.

³⁰ Dom Gregory Dix's emendations in his edition of *The Apostolic Tradition*, London, 1937, p. 9, leave the idea of being 'filled with the Spirit' intact.

³¹ E. G. Professor E. C. Ratcliff in two articles, 'The Sanctus and the Pattern of the Early Anaphora' in *Journal of Ecclesiastical History*, vol. i, 1950, especially pp. 32-6, and G. A. Michell, *Landmarks in Liturgy*, London, 1961, pp. 84-5.

GIBBON RE-WRITTEN: RECENT TRENDS IN BYZANTINE STUDIES¹

by J. M. Hussey

ANYONE who travels in Greece and the Balkans, who knows and talks with the scholars of these countries, is at once struck by the contrast between the legitimate pride in their medieval history felt by present-day Greeks, Serbs or Macedonians and the pronounced mistrust of Byzantine and medieval Balkan history still prevalent among some English historians and classical scholars which goes back, I suppose, to the eighteenth-century interpretation, perhaps to the late fifteenth-century 'renaissance'. In spite of the marked interest in Byzantine studies reflected in B.B.C. programmes, in exhibitions of Byzantine art in Edinburgh and London, and in Byzantine week-ends at colleges for adult education, here in England we still have many who are the spiritual heirs of Montesquieu and Gibbon. All that the modern Greek or Serb would emphasize – the continuity of Greek and Balkan history, its vitality, its creativity, its dynamic qualities – this is something which seems to be entirely ignored by Gibbon and his followers.

Gibbon's admittedly magnificent work *The Decline and Fall of the Roman Empire* has indeed heavily coloured English opinion from his day to ours. Writing in the time of Burke and Pitt, in 1776 Gibbon produced the first, in 1788 the fourth and final, volume of his brilliant narrative on Roman history covering the early centuries A.D. to the Ottoman capture of Constantinople in 1453. His style, his irony, his subtlety are unsurpassed. His phrases still carry con-

¹ This was a paper read to the study circle on the Eastern Churches which was inaugurated by the late Dom Bede Winslow, O.S.B.

viction – 'a uniform tale of weakness and misery', 'the triumph of barbarism and religion', his closing pages with his final crushing indictment of the papacy in renaissance Italy followed by the quiet ironical remark that he would not wish, 'in these last moments, to offend even the pope and the clergy of Rome'.²

Gibbon is well known for his view of Roman history and for the arresting brilliance of his presentation. Looking through his volumes (few of us can say we have read him from start to finish) one is struck by the wealth of material evidenced in the text and footnotes. Where did he get it from? Gibbon, like present-day students of the East Roman empire, built on the foundations laid by the sixteenth- and seventeenth-century pioneers who established the canons of modern historical criticism. It is indeed worth considering why and when scholars first became interested in Byzantine history, where Gibbon comes in this line of development, and how far Byzantine historiography has changed in interpretation since his day. Obviously he drew on the substantial contributions of earlier scholars, even if he was singularly indifferent to the spirit which informed their work.

For some time before the fall of Constantinople in 1453, there had been increasing intercourse between the West and the Greek-speaking Aegean. The later middle ages in the West saw a marked interest in the classical world and in Greek, as well as Latin, writers. Interest in ancient Greece was bound to lead men to Byzantium, though this was at first regarded only as a storehouse of classical works. Its actual history was regarded as being closed, as it were, by the events of 1453 which marked an epoch, but as early as the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries Byzantium gradually gained recognition as a field of study in its own right. Various reasons contributed to this: the independent humanist spirit of research, the western struggle against the Ottomans, Protestant sympathy for the dissident Byzantine Church, and also Catholic desire for reunion. By the end of the sixteenth century a corpus of Byzantine historians had been planned, and pioneer work done in investigating the sources of Byzantine law.³

The real impetus came from the mid-seventeenth century

² E. Gibbon, *The History of the Decline and Fall of the Roman Empire*, ed. J. B. Bury, vol. 7 (London, 1900) p. 299. Citations from Gibbon and from Bury's Introduction are from this edition.

³ For a brief but excellent survey of the early pioneers in Byzantine studies see G. Ostrogorsky, *History of the Byzantine State* (Oxford, 1956), pp. 2 ff.

onwards, particularly in France. It may perhaps be something of a shock to some students of European history to realize that in Louis XIV's reign, men were working like beavers on Byzantine history. Here in France, plans for the corpus of Byzantine historians went ahead as the result of the fruitful co-operation of scholars. Editions of the church councils and of the Byzantine legal codes also appeared. These were accompanied by commentaries and notes which are still invaluable today, and are on a scale which dwarfs most of our efforts. If any one name can be mentioned as that of the founder of Byzantine studies it is the French scholar Du Cange (†1688) perhaps the greatest of all Byzantinists. It was his industry and acumen and erudition which gave us a dictionary of medieval Greek, works on the topography of Constantinople and on the genealogies of Byzantine families, as well as editions of and commentaries on several Byzantine historians. At the same time his younger contemporaries, the Maurists Jean Mabillon and Bernard de Montfaucon, by their work on diplomacy and palaeography were laying the foundations of the scientific study of documents and of manuscripts. The Bollandists were applying similar principles to hagiology and the first volume of their *Acta Sanctorum* was published in Antwerp in 1643: they are still actively and fruitfully pursuing this work to-day.

Montfaucon died in 1741 and the Benedictine Banduri of Ragusa in 1743, and from the mid-eighteenth century the temper of the age seemed to chill appreciation and understanding of the medieval world. To men like Voltaire or Montesquieu this appeared to be something alien and even worthless, and Gibbon's vigour and genius overshadowed the slender output of scholarly work in the Byzantine field and damped enthusiasm. It was characteristic that the unique manuscript of a vital Byzantine document, the *De Cerimoniis*, was discovered at Leipzig in the mid-eighteenth century by the distinguished scholar Reiske († 1774) and yet for some years his commentary on it remained unpublished.

There is no need to speak here of the growth in the nineteenth century of a different attitude towards Byzantine history. Men like Niebuhr, and Mommsen contributed towards dispelling the legend of a thousand years' decline, and by the end of the century, fresh interest in Byzantine studies was putting out vigorous roots in most European countries.

The British Isles can claim some share at least, even though a modest one, in promoting modern Byzantine research. This was in

the first instance particularly due to the work of J. B. Bury (1861-1927). Bury was himself a classical scholar as well as a Byzantinist. His strength lay in early Byzantine history, and particularly in the administrative field. His edition of Gibbon with notes and appendices published during the years 1897-1900 is still invaluable. His preface to that edition admirably reflects his own temper. Indeed, religious problems in Bury's own works are treated with precisely that 'unobtrusive scepticism', that 'attitude of detachment', which he finds lacking in Gibbon's more obvious offensive against Christianity.⁴ All the same Bury, the agnostic who thought that the age which saw the rise of Christianity was characterized by 'a sort of failure of nerve', had much in common with Gibbon.⁵ Bury certainly finds himself at one with Gibbon in the emphasis and scope of the *Decline and Fall*. As he remarks, 'On the continuity of the Roman Empire depended the unity of his [Gibbon's] work'.⁶ Bury disliked the term 'Byzantine', taken from Byzantium, the name of the old Greek colony on the site that became Constantinople, the city of the emperor Constantine in 330. He disliked this, not so much because it came to be used as a term of derision to describe a supposedly decadent civilization, but because it obscured the fact that the medieval Byzantine empire was the medieval Roman empire. Bury used the phrase 'Eastern Roman empire' after the year 800 when Charlemagne was crowned in the West, thus bringing into being a Western medieval empire. The Byzantine empire might be 'Eastern', but 'Roman' it remained to Bury, as to Gibbon.

Bury's main charges against Gibbon are two - lack of proportion in his treatment, and misrepresentation of, or rather, the inability to use, the available material. He sees lack of proportion because Gibbon allots extremely little space to the eight hundred years from the seventh century to the fall of Constantinople in 1453 and he describes this as a superficial treatment 'in harmony with the author's contemptuous attitude to the "Byzantine" or "lower" empire.' He sees misrepresentation, because, even with the material at his command, Gibbon failed to realize the ability of the medieval

⁴ E. Gibbon, *op. cit.*, vol. I (London, 1897), p. xxxix.

⁵ Quoted by N. H. Baynes, *Byzantine Studies and Other Essays* (London, 1955), p. 7. 'You remember that conversation when Gilbert Murray and J. B. Bury were discussing the change that took place between say, Plato and the Neo-Platonists: Gilbert Murray had been calling it a rise of asceticism, or mysticism, or religious passion. "It is not a rise," said Bury, "it is ... a sort of failure of nerve".'

⁶ E. Gibbon, *op. cit.*, vol. i, p. xlvi.

Byzantine emperors. Gibbon also failed to grasp the deeper issues at stake, such as the revival and reorganization which characterized the empire before 1204 and which enabled it, in Bury's words, 'to be the bulwark of the West before the outrage of 1204'.⁷ I suspect that for Bury, as for his distinguished follower, Norman Baynes,⁸ the capture of Constantinople by the Western crusaders marked an epoch and was the beginning of the end. Here Bury's view is that of his generation and not of the present day.

It is nearly 180 years since Gibbon's first volume came out. More than fifty years have passed since Bury edited Gibbon, and more than thirty since in 1923 he edited the volume on Byzantium in the *Cambridge Medieval History*, 'The Eastern Roman Empire 717-1453,' as he called it. It is worth considering two points: first, the way in which Byzantinists are now trying to write the history of the East Roman empire and with what tools, and secondly, the changes which come into the picture as the result.

There is no question that the tools of research have been sharpened, though they are still far from satisfactory. But it is fair to say that textual criticism, philological aids, lexica, the study of diplomatic, numismatics and sigillography, have all sufficiently advanced to make possible a scientific use of the available body of material.⁹

There are two outstanding features of contemporary Byzantine studies. First, the increasing range and amount of available evidence. The scholar obviously relies on chronicles and histories and other literary evidence, and he has profited enormously from the patient cataloguing and microfilming that is going on throughout Europe and the Mediterranean. Much is still unprinted, much unnoted or unidentified or unavailable or apparently lost.¹⁰ For instance, the writings of Symeon the New Theologian, the best known and most used spiritual works of the medieval Greek Church are still for the greater part in manuscript and available only in part

⁷ E. Gibbon, *op. cit.*, vol. 1, p. liv.

⁸ N. H. Baynes who so brilliantly continued Bury's work, though with a very different emphasis, died on February 12th, 1961. It is hoped to publish a *Memoir* of him.

⁹ For a brief account see G. Moravcsik, *Byzantinoturcica*, vol. i (2nd ed., Berlin, 1958), pp. 185 ff.

¹⁰ Before the Second World War the present writer obtained microfilms of a manuscript containing canons by John of Euchaita in the monastery of St Stephen of the Meteora, but as a result of war conditions all trace of the codex appears to have vanished (1958).

in a sixteenth-century Latin translation made from a version which was much edited in the middle ages for Byzantine use.¹¹ The present-day Byzantinist also draws on papyri, coins and seals, charters and other documents. In reconstructing his many-sided history he includes such material as buildings and decoration, textiles and pots and pans. For instance in a work on the medieval civilization of Serbia, all manner of evidence has been exploited, such as decoration found in churches, often in comparatively inaccessible sites up in the hills. It is this kind of material which provides information on medieval methods of weaving, or serving food, or fetching water from the wells.¹² In the same way, the various pictures on the pottery found during excavations of the Agora and at Corinth may show what Greek songs and ballads were popular in medieval Athens, or what kind of games boys played then, as well as what sort of plates were in common use.¹³ And at a higher level Byzantine coins and seals, ivories and illustrated manuscripts, may for instance indicate something of the contemporary conception of the imperial authority, by no means always the same during the long course of Byzantine history.¹⁴

Secondly, Byzantine studies are marked both by their co-operative character and by the rapidity of their growth. The learned Catholic orders long ago realized the value of an assured continuity. To-day, side by side with the Bollandists are many other institutions. Some are manned by the religious – in Rome the Pontifical Oriental Institute at present specializes in eastern canon law, the conciliar movements, and relations with the eastern churches, separated or otherwise. The Benedictine monasteries of Scheyern and Ettal in Bavaria are particularly concerned with a co-operative work on St John of Damascus embracing the canon of his writings, a critical edition and philological studies. The Assumptionists,

¹¹ Archbishop Basil Krivocheine (formerly Fr Basil Krivocheine) is publishing a critical edition of the *Catecheses*; J. Darrouzès, A.A. has already edited the *Capita (Chapitres théologiques, gnostiques et pratiques)*, Paris, 1957 — *Sources Chrétiennes*, 51.

¹² See J. Kovačević, *Srednjovekovna nošnja Balkanskih Slovena* (Belgrade, 1953).

¹³ I owe photographs of the Agora plates to the kindness of Dr Alison Frantz. See also A. Frantz 'Digenis Akritas: a Byzantine epic and its illustrators', *Byzantion*, vol. 15 (1941), pp. 87-91.

¹⁴ The classic study on this subject is A. Grabar, *L'empereur dans l'art byzantin* (Strasbourg, 1936).

founded in the nineteenth century to promote better understanding between East and West, formerly in Istanbul and then in Bucarest, are now established in France where they publish their annual *Revue des études byzantines*, once the *Échos d'Orient*.

Laymen are not behind in co-operating with the Church or in working independently. In Munich the school of Karl Krumbacher still flourishes in the University under the guidance of F. Dölger, the editor of the long-established *Byzantinische Zeitschrift*. The Byzantine Institute in Belgrade under G. Ostrogorsky, Byzantine studies in Brussels under H. Grégoire, in Paris, stimulated long ago by Ch. Diehl, and now by the vigorous P. Lemerle and others, in Athens, as also in Italy, in Prague and in Berlin – these are only some of the flourishing European centres. Across the Atlantic private munificence has founded the Byzantine Research Library at Dumbarton Oaks in Washington, D.C., now closely linked with the American Byzantine Institute working with the Turks in Istanbul, where the rediscovery of Byzantine mosaics and frescoes has been proceeding apace, notably in what was the Byzantine Great Church, Hagia Sophia, the church of the Holy Wisdom, and in the monastery of the Chora (Kariye Camii).

This is an impressive list and we may well ask ourselves what fruits are being produced by all these learned institutes and centres.¹⁵ What picture of the Byzantine empire and of Byzantine civilization is being built up? Here at the outset we in England should beware of what may be unconscious prejudice. Some still tend to remember Byzantine violence and murders; and may even be disappointed because they do not find anything which in any way resembles English constitutional development. Present-day scholars often still visualize the Byzantine empire as a 'rise and fall', perhaps adding rather condescendingly that its influence was felt long after it had ceased to exist as a political entity. Some, like Gibbon, stress that it was, and remained, the *Roman* empire. But this is not sufficient, and most people have to rethink their views on Byzantine history and civilization; most of us, like Gibbon, do not approach Byzantium in the right frame of mind.

¹⁵ It is only possible here to make brief mention of the lively international Byzantine congresses, now held every few years. Since the war Byzantinists from all over the world have had stimulating exchange of views with amicable, but often fruitful, clashes of opinion, at Paris and Brussels (1948), Palermo (1951), Thessalonica (1953), Istanbul (1955), Munich (1958), and Ochrida (1961).

If we want to bridge the gulf between Plato and Aristotle and the Greek War of Independence and Byron, we should do well to learn from the present-day Greeks. Conversation with Greeks, or perusal of Greek historical works, emphasizes their strong sense of continuity. What is to us the Byzantine empire, a medieval creation which vanished in 1453, is to them but one phase in a long history which stretches unbroken from the present day back to a prehistoric age. Byzantine history is medieval Greek history, and, for all Byzantium's acceptance of the framework of the Roman empire and the name 'Romanoi', its culture was basically Greek. This is forcibly brought out in a history recently written by the Greek scholar Constantine Amantos: he wrote it for his own people as a popular introduction to Byzantine history, i.e. medieval Greek history.¹⁶ His emphasis and treatment are very different to that commonly found in our books on prehistoric and classical Greece, the Roman empire and the early middle ages – for that is the ground covered by Amantos. Rome and the Latin world come off badly; St Augustine is only mentioned in passing; St Jerome whom we think of as a rather Latin father with the Vulgate to his credit, was, stresses Amantos, really a Greek. There is, perhaps, more to be said for the Latins and Rome than Amantos admits, but even so it is clear that the Greek mind and the Greek language were formative influences in the Mediterranean since the days of Homer, and in Christendom since the inception of Christianity. The medieval Byzantine period must be viewed against this impressive background with its long unbroken tradition, and indeed, as an integral part of it. It was not in a possible reunion of the two churches of Rome and Constantinople, nor in the revival of the empire, but in the position of the Byzantines as Greeks that the fifteenth-century scholar Gemistus Plethon put his trust, 'We are Greeks (Hellenes) by race, by language and by education.'¹⁷

What then was Byzantium? It was the eastern half of the old Roman empire and the only part of that empire which survived until the end of the middle ages: it was a Christian empire, for the

¹⁶ K. I. Amantos 'Εισαγωγή εἰς τὴν βυζαντινὴν ἱστορίαν. Τὸ τέλος τοῦ ἀρχαίου κόσμου καὶ ἡ ἀρχὴ τοῦ μεσαίωνος (2nd ed., Athens, 1950); see also his *Ιστορία τοῦ Βυζαντινοῦ Κράτους* (vol. 1, 2nd ed., Athens, 1953; vol. 2, Athens, 1947).

¹⁷ Παλαιολόγεια καὶ Πελοποννησιακά, ed. Sp. Lampros, vol. 3, p. 247; see also S. Runciman, 'Byzantine and Hellene in the fourteenth century' in *Tόμος Κωνσταντίνου Αρμενοπούλου* (Thessalonica, 1951), pp. 27-31.

most part Greek speaking, with Constantinople as its capital. The definitive histories of its everyday life, of Byzantine science and philosophy, literature and theology, have yet to be written. But the main lines stand out in sufficient detail to reveal the diversity in unity. As in the days of Philip and Alexander of Macedon, the Aegean world was bound together under a single ruler, heir to the imperial Caesars, but with this difference, that he was now a Christian, the vicegreent of Christ on earth.

The position of the Christian emperor in his Christian empire does indeed underly the medieval Greek way of life. This was something far removed from the Greek city state of Thucydides' day, but monarchy gave a unity of purpose and direction which kept back non-Christian enemies (as the Persians or the Moslems) for several hundred years, and, for most Byzantine emperors, their strong awareness of the responsibilities of their office precluded unthinking despotism. Further, the mainspring of action, the motive force, of both emperor and subject alike, was to be found in Christianity. The Christian God directed and preserved, chastised and comforted, often using the unseen forces of the angelic orders, or the saints and above all the Mother of God who was the special patron of 'the City', as Constantinople was called.

The Byzantine awareness of an unseen world may seem alien to us. But it still lingers in the Greek countryside and in the Greek islands. A few years ago I myself was in the countryside in northern Greece near the border of present-day Yugoslavia and Albania, in the much-disputed Macedonian territory. Here in the little hill town of Castoria are innumerable small churches, characterized by their dedication to military saints, particularly St Demetrios and the two St Theodores, as beffited a territory open to constant threat of invasion. And still the sense of the supernatural world remains. When I asked the way of an old peasant woman, she looked at me; her eye immediately fell on a small bronze medallion I was wearing, her face lit up, and as she crossed herself, her first words were 'The Holy Demetrios'. I was wearing a small reproduction of the mosaic of the St Demetrios Orans which is in his church in Thessalonica, the city under his special protection. She recognized this. Sometimes it is superstition or pagan ritual which survives. On the eve of All Souls Day in the Orthodox Church there are still special celebrations. In southern Serbia at Gračanića in a little village in the hills, the church in the monastery grounds serves as the parish church, and in the late afternoon streams of village women and girls bring

food and drink to the church which is decorated with flowers and food, and there the priest stands and is handed names on scraps of paper, the dead of the village families, for whom he prays. Early next morning at sunrise the long procession of women goes up to the hillside to their cemetery, where food and drink is left on the tombs for the dead or eaten by those present. This is a vivid reminder of the pagan ritual meal, and it makes it seem quite natural to find medieval inscriptions recording the survival of customs of this kind in the Byzantine empire. Nor does it seem strange to find an epitaph A.D. c. 400 describing libations and ritual feasts at the tombs of the dead 'On the 6th day go to the shrine ... with twelve round loaves and sweet wine like to the sun's rays or to flakes of snow. For one must readily accomplish what is desired by the dead.'¹⁸

Such instances from the present day illustrate a deeply ingrained continuity of outlook. They could be paralleled with countless other incidents from contemporary life both in the Aegean and in the Balkans. And it is indeed characteristic of our generation to be specially concerned with the everyday customs of the less articulate and the less well educated members of society. Gibbon might have been astonished at the recent eight-volumed work by Kukules on social services, amusements and other interests and occupations of the Byzantines.¹⁹

At the upper end of the scale the research of the last fifty years has added much to our knowledge of a society whose better-off families took education for granted. In this respect it is difficult to distinguish between clerics and laymen. There were church schools and academies, as there were lay tutors, schools, secular patrons of learning, and the imperial university. Even in the worst days, Byzantines never lost their sense of values. Libraries had to be built up in Nicaea, even though the empire had been disrupted, nor could constant diplomatic needs quench Theodore II's passion for philosophical studies. The nature of Byzantine intellectual activity needs no special emphasis here: it is well known that Byzantines were outstanding in the field of historiography, church poetry and liturgical

¹⁸ R. L. P. Milburn, 'An early Christian Epitaph from Tanagra', *Journal of Theological Studies*, N.S. I (1950), p. 178. See also St Augustine, *Confessions*, VI, 2, where he describes how his mother was used to a similar North African custom at the tombs of the martyrs (which was frowned on by St Ambrose).

¹⁹ Ph. Kukules, *Βυζαντινών βίως καὶ πολιτισμός*, 6 vols. in 8 (Athens, 1948-1957).

most part Greek speaking, with Constantinople as its capital. The definitive histories of its everyday life, of Byzantine science and philosophy, literature and theology, have yet to be written. But the main lines stand out in sufficient detail to reveal the diversity in unity. As in the days of Philip and Alexander of Macedon, the Aegean world was bound together under a single ruler, heir to the imperial Caesars, but with this difference, that he was now a Christian, the vicegreent of Christ on earth.

The position of the Christian emperor in his Christian empire does indeed underly the medieval Greek way of life. This was something far removed from the Greek city state of Thucydides' day, but monarchy gave a unity of purpose and direction which kept back non-Christian enemies (as the Persians or the Moslems) for several hundred years, and, for most Byzantine emperors, their strong awareness of the responsibilities of their office precluded unthinking despotism. Further, the mainspring of action, the motive force, of both emperor and subject alike, was to be found in Christianity. The Christian God directed and preserved, chastised and comforted, often using the unseen forces of the angelic orders, or the saints and above all the Mother of God who was the special patron of 'the City', as Constantinople was called.

The Byzantine awareness of an unseen world may seem alien to us. But it still lingers in the Greek countryside and in the Greek islands. A few years ago I myself was in the countryside in northern Greece near the border of present-day Yugoslavia and Albania, in the much-disputed Macedonian territory. Here in the little hill town of Castoria are innumerable small churches, characterized by their dedication to military saints, particularly St Demetrios and the two St Theodores, as beffited a territory open to constant threat of invasion. And still the sense of the supernatural world remains. When I asked the way of an old peasant woman, she looked at me; her eye immediately fell on a small bronze medallion I was wearing, her face lit up, and as she crossed herself, her first words were 'The Holy Demetrios'. I was wearing a small reproduction of the mosaic of the St Demetrios Orans which is in his church in Thessalonica, the city under his special protection. She recognized this. Sometimes it is superstition or pagan ritual which survives. On the eve of All Souls Day in the Orthodox Church there are still special celebrations. In southern Serbia at Gračanića in a little village in the hills, the church in the monastery grounds serves as the parish church, and in the late afternoon streams of village women and girls bring

food and drink to the church which is decorated with flowers and food, and there the priest stands and is handed names on scraps of paper, the dead of the village families, for whom he prays. Early next morning at sunrise the long procession of women goes up to the hillside to their cemetery, where food and drink is left on the tombs for the dead or eaten by those present. This is a vivid reminder of the pagan ritual meal, and it makes it seem quite natural to find medieval inscriptions recording the survival of customs of this kind in the Byzantine empire. Nor does it seem strange to find an epitaph A.D. c. 400 describing libations and ritual feasts at the tombs of the dead 'On the 6th day go to the shrine ... with twelve round loaves and sweet wine like to the sun's rays or to flakes of snow. For one must readily accomplish what is desired by the dead.'¹⁸

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writings, in doctrinal exposition and in spirituality, and also in lyric poetry to be found in the *Greek Anthology*.²⁰

Byzantium had something that was essentially a living tradition. Its civilization and its political world were dynamic, changing and developing throughout the middle ages. And here, in addition to change within the empire, what might be described as provincial, or local, differences are constantly coming to light, perhaps in art, perhaps in political history, as regional studies of the Morea or of Epirus or of Macedonia are showing. It is indeed doubtful how far it can be entirely maintained that the Fourth Crusade ruined a great civilization and prevented the recuperation and recovery of Christendom's real defenders.²¹ It does seem that both continuity of tradition and new life are to be found in the art, music, spirituality, literature and learning of the period after the capture of Constantinople and the unfortunate partial dismemberment of the Byzantine empire in 1204.

One need only mention the frescoes now being discovered in the church of the Chora just inside the walls of Constantinople, such as the magnificent and vigorous Anastasis fresco in the early fourteenth-century parecclesion or mortuary chapel.²² There are, too, the frescoes in Macedonian and in the southern Serbian churches, and in those of Mistra in the Peloponnese. Or there is the substantial corpus of Byzantine church music which, as in art, shows both a sense of tradition and capacity for further development.

Then, particularly in the fourteenth century, living monastic and eremitic practice, drawing on the tradition of the Eastern Church, inspired spiritual and theological writings (and disputes) which in recent years have been the subject of research. The hesychast controversy turned on the nature of God, and whether through grace and in holy quiet, man can comprehend him in this world. The dispute has an added interest in that Latin ways of theological thought are involved. This hesychasm, with its venerable ancestry, was

²⁰ The emphasis here is on the more obviously creative activities of Byzantium. But it should not be forgotten that we owe much to Byzantine scholars for their editions of, and commentaries on, the works of the earlier Greek writers, as a glance at a critical edition of, say, Euripides or Aristophanes or Homer will show.

²¹ This view is held by S. Runciman; see *History of the Crusades*, vol. 3 (Cambridge, 1954), pp. 130-131.

²² Excellent interim reports on this work by P. Underwood are to be found in *Dumbarton Oaks Papers* from Nos. 9 and 10 (1956) onwards (with many plates).

triumphantly vindicated and has remained a living force in the Orthodox Church.²³

In political and administrative fields Byzantium displayed equal capacity for adaptation and growth. This has been demonstrated by recent work on the imperial position and relations between church and state, and even more so by work on land tenure and provincial and military organization.

Though the emperor never ceased to be the indispensable pivot, the vicegerent of Christ, with acknowledged responsibilities, yet there was a subtle change. John VIII in the fifteenth century still regarded himself as the convener of the General Council of Ferrara-Florence, as Constantine had been of Nicaea, yet how different was his position from that of the early emperors, particularly such as the sixth-century Justinian. John VIII did not dominate in matters of theology. He stood for freedom of discussion. On the controversial topic of Purgatory he urged Mark of Ephesus, 'Declare with real contention all our rights,' even though Mark of Ephesus was opposed to John's hoped-for union. Greek methods at this council, committees, voting, and so on, might well be studied to give the lie to those who point, wrongly, it would seem, to undue imperial pressure.²⁴ It is also possible that a rather different picture of the emperor than that often held might emerge if material of this kind was used, supplemented by the evidence of art and archaeology,²⁵ a picture which would reflect the steady growth of the Church's influence.

Constant change is likewise revealed in what is perhaps the most significant, though not the most obviously spectacular, recent advance in our knowledge, that is, the structure of Byzantine society and administration and the nature of Byzantine land tenure. Much is owed to the research of G. Ostrogorsky, particularly in connection with the grant in *pronoia*. This was usually land, including the tenants (*paroikoi*) on it, granted to begin with for a limited period in return for services, often the provision of military aid.²⁶ This development vested more and more power in the hands

²³ Studies are too numerous to be cited here but mention may be made of J. Meyendorff, *Introduction à l'étude Grégoire Palamas* (Paris, 1959) and for a general treatment, V. Lossky, *The Mystical Theology of the Eastern Church* (London, 1957).

²⁴ On John VIII and the conciliar movement see J. Gill, s.J., *The Council of Florence* (Cambridge 1959).

²⁵ See A. Grabar cited above, p. 95, note 14.

²⁶ G. Ostrogorsky, *Pour l'histoire de la féodalité byzantine* (Brussels, 1954).

of the great landed families. The Church too was wealthy, and as the government grew desperate in the fourteenth century, it was evidently reduced to vigorous pruning of ecclesiastical estates in order to gain further land to grant in *pronoia* and thus to provide resources for urgent military needs.²⁷ Further, Ostrogorsky maintains that charters and cartularies show that from the tenth century few men were 'free' in the sense of being entirely independent. They had special obligations either to the state or to their lord, who might be lay or ecclesiastic (and a tight hold was kept over ecclesiastical attempts to attract extra men to their estates.) The 'free' man who sometimes appears in later documents, unlike the free villager of the earlier centuries, is only the refugee, the 'stranger', who has escaped from his lord, or been driven from his small-holding by unending campaigns and invasions.²⁸

There is by no means agreement either over Ostrogorsky's interpretation of the grant in *pronoia*, or on various other points. Scholars are not at one concerning the precise point at which the reorganization of provincial administration into themes took place, or the allocation of lands to soldier-farmers. Nor is there agreement as to whether the term 'feudalism' can rightly be applied to Byzantine society at any time during the middle ages.²⁹ But the spate of work in progress on these economic and administrative problems is sufficient to make it clear that internal history of the Byzantine empire is far from being either 'uniform' or 'tedious' as Gibbon thought.

Gibbon did recognize Byzantine contacts with East and West. He was indeed partial to the Muslim world, but he had neither the temperament, nor the evidence, to enable him to assess aright Byzantine relations with Latin powers or with its Slav neighbours. This is particularly true of the Slavs. It was with the nineteenth-

²⁷ It is this practice of lopping off church property which is castigated by Nicholas Cabasilas in the mid-fourteenth century: he is not fulminating against the socialists in Thessalonica as scholars used to think. See I. Sevcenko, 'Nicolas Cabasilas' 'Anti-Zealot' Discourse: a Reinterpretation', *Dumbarton Oaks Papers*, No. 11 (Cambridge, Mass., 1957).

²⁸ G. Ostrogorsky, *Quelques problèmes d'histoire de la paysannerie byzantine* (Brussels, 1956).

²⁹ A number of points concerning the themes and military and agrarian problems have been raised by P. Lemerle in a series of articles. See his 'Esquisse pour une histoire agraire de Byzance: les sources et les problèmes', *Revue historique*, 219 (1958) and 220 (1958), and 'Recherches sur le régime agraire à Byzance: la terre militaire à l'époque des Comnènes', *Cahiers de civilisation médiévale X^e-XII^es.*, 2 (1959), pp. 265-281.

century revival of interest in Byzantine history that the Slavs came into their own. Russia almost from the outset had realized this connection and had taken its place in Byzantine research. It is only more recently that the Balkan and other Slav countries have developed lively centres of medieval studies which must perforce include Byzantine along with their own national and local developments. This is particularly true of the Bulgarians, the Yugoslavs and the Rumanians. There can indeed be no more convincing practical demonstration of the affinity between Balkan and Byzantine culture than to cross from northern Greece to southern Yugoslavia, going from the frescoed churches of the Greek Castoria to those of Macedonian Ochrida or Nerezi.

It is here on its northern frontier that some of Constantinople's most fruitful contacts took place. This is something that had no real interest for Gibbon. He would no doubt have found the medieval Slavs as alien as the medieval Latins and Greeks. Today the Balkan countries stress the native elements in their development but do not deny their debt to Byzantium. The unsuspected beauty of their medieval monuments and frescoes was hinted at in the exhibition in London in 1950, and in such publications as the Unesco volume on Serbian art.³⁰ In statecraft and in administration and in law their debt was also obvious. They were near enough neighbours for their children to be educated in Byzantine imperial circles and from the tenth century onwards they married into Byzantine families. Above all, they accepted the Orthodox Church, and this, apart from what it gave in its own right, did of course show them the Byzantine way of life. It was this conception of the Christian state with the close interdependence of priest and ruler which deeply impressed the Slavs and was reflected in their own medieval life.

This role of the Church was again something outside the comprehension of Gibbon, and indeed one might add also of Bury. It is now one of the most studied aspects of Byzantine civilization. Many of the surviving monuments and works of art are ecclesiastical and many of the extant documents and manuscripts have been preserved in monastic houses. New fields of study have been opened. Recent research has enlarged our knowledge of Byzantine music and liturgy which were an integral part of public worship, whether the more elaborate cathedral office or the simpler service of the parish or the monastic chapel. Above all, the Orthodox church itself still

³⁰ *Yugoslavia: Medieval Frescoes*, preface by D. Talbot Rice, introd. by S. Radojić (Unesco World Art Series, New York, 1955).

stands as a witness to the continuity of tradition in Greek, Slav, or, to a lesser degree, Oriental countries. As the political authority and territorial extent of the Byzantine empire shrank, the Orthodox church grew stronger. This is becoming clear from the later history of Byzantium in the fourteenth and fifteenth centuries. The vigour of life on Mount Athos, not simply a peninsula of isolated monasteries, but the goal of pilgrims, a centre radiating theological activity, providing higher ecclesiastics for a Church that took an increasingly predominant part in intellectual, political and even administrative life. Churchmen took their place side by side with laymen as chief justices on circuit and the church courts had competence similar to the imperial courts. It is understandable that the Church continued to play a leading part after the Byzantine provinces and Balkan countries had been conquered by the Turks.³¹ But the vigour of the Byzantine Church in the later middle ages had another side: it found an outlet in its obstinate opposition to the Roman Church, which was one of the many reasons why Christendom could never put up a united front against the Turks. Agreement at the Council of Florence was violently repudiated by almost all at home, though a majority of Greeks voted for it at the Council.

This antagonism and this lack of unity between East and West, for whatever reason, should not be allowed to obscure a significant underlying development, namely, the fruitful and increasing contacts between Byzantium and the West. The less they were able to co-operate in the political or religious fields the more they got to know and to understand each other as individuals. The change in outlook between the tenth and the fourteenth centuries is remarkable. The Byzantine foreign office handbook of the tenth century states that it is unthinkable for Byzantine imperial families to marry with nations differing from 'the Roman (i.e. Byzantine) order', with the exception of the Franks, since they have links with Constantine the Great who drew his origin from those parts.³² But from the days of the crusades and the early twelfth century onwards, the Latin Westerners lived at close quarters with the Byzantines. Personal contacts in the Aegean brought not only appreciation of Greek and

³¹ Fourteenth- and fifteenth-century churches still standing in northern Greece or in Macedonia sometimes have built round them a later addition, an outer and covered-in cloister which during the Ottoman régime was used as a kind of village hall where the affairs of the Christian community could be discussed.

³² Constantine Porphyrogenitus, *De administrando imperio*, ed. and trans. G. Moravcsik – R. J. H. Jenkins (Budapest, 1949), pp. 70–72.

Byzantine art but knowledge of the literary and intellectual traditions of the two worlds. And there were also contacts between Ottoman and Greek. The famous Gregory Palamas was for a time a captive of the Turks and there are records of his discussions through interpreters with Muslim theologians. John VIII and Bayezid's son were schoolboy scholars together and Ducas tells how the Muslim, a hostage in Constantinople, 'was enamoured of Greek learning while with the emperor's son John and frequenting the school, set his mind to letters and was taught.'³³

The more human relationships of this kind were foreign to Gibbon. He missed much that we seek and find, partly because he was dominated by his conception of a 'decline and fall', partly because he thought of history in what might be called 'imperial and aristocratic' terms. Diplomacy and other affairs of state are often important determining factors, but we look, too, for the more homely details, the economic and social life of those who took no part in directing policy, as well as details about those who did. It is pleasant to add to our picture of John VIII the knowledge that he was devoted to dogs and always had one at his heels, even in Italy; it must have slipped into the council room with him at Florence, for we are told that when he cast his vote in favour of union with Rome and the *Filioque*, the dog being a good Byzantine set up a dismal whine.³⁴ Gibbon did not look for evidence of this kind: he was in any case partial to Latin rather than Greek civilization. But it would be unfair to reproach him with faults which are still common. Even today it is doubtful whether most of us fully appreciate the continuity of Greek thought, Greek literature and Greek history. Greek culture in the middle ages certainly had its roots in classical Greek life, but it was also something living, organic, changing from generation to generation, and even from place to place. Any attempt to show how Europe reacted to Greek culture up to the sixteenth century and beyond must of necessity remember this basic fact which is so clearly brought out by the attitude of present-day Greeks towards their own medieval history.

³³ Ducas, p. 98 (Bonn, 1834), cited by J. Gill, s.j., 'John VIII Palaeologus: a character study', *Silloga Bizantina in on. di S. G. Mercati = Studi bizantini e neoellenici*, vol. 9 (1957), p. 153.

³⁴ See J. Gill, s.j., 'The "Acta" and the Memoirs of Syropoulos as History', *Orientalia Christiana Periodica* 14 (1948), p. 324.

BYZANTIUM, MUSCOVITE AUTOCRACY AND THE CHURCH

by Francis Dvornik

ONE of the most debated problems of Russian history is that of the origins and growth of the autocratic régime in the Muscovite state. Many prominent Russian historians have dealt with this problem, for example, S. M. Solovjev, Djakonov, Ključevsky, Platonov, Kostomarov, Rozkov, Sava, Waldenberg, and others. But, although considerable progress has been made by them, there are still many questions which have not yet found satisfactory answers. One of the main questions is how to explain the strange transformation of the political regime of the Kievan period with its democratic institutions into an autocratic Muscovite regime.

In reality there were, in the political organization of the Kievan State, many special characteristics which had little in common with a monarchic system and which seemed to preclude the possibility of a strong monarchy arising among the Russians. The state was regarded as the common patrimony of the Rurik dynasty and so, logically, it should be divided amongst all members of the reigning family. This system naturally led to the creation of as many states or *voivodships* hereditary patrimonies as there were branches of the Rurik family, and made it extremely difficult to maintain the unity of the Kievan State. The right of succession by seniority, which gave the oldest member of the dynasty supreme authority and introduced a rotating system of succession in the principalities, was established by the founders of the state in order to reconcile its two fundamental principles – the sharing of the common patrimony between the members of the dynasty and unity of the state. The danger of a division of the Kievan realm into several independent states was thus to a certain degree averted, but the Grand Prince, the head of

the dynasty, could never pretend to become a monarch. He was bound to collaborate with other princes in the administration of the state and in foreign relations.

There was a further principle in the Kievan political system which discouraged the development of a strong monarchy. In each principality the throne was hereditary in the dynasty, but it was the *veče* – the assembly of the people – which approved the succession or decided between contending candidates. The prince was confirmed or elected for life – only in Novgorod and Pskov was the duration of the mandate indeterminate – but the *veče* also had the right, in certain cases, to depose the prince. There was no coronation ceremony as in the West, and at the enthronement of the princes the people played a prominent role.

There should be a 'union' (*odinačestvo*) between the confirmed or elected prince and his subjects. Therefore the new princes were wont to conclude special agreements (*rjady*) with their subjects fixing their reciprocal rights and duties.

The *večes* were another obstacle to the formation of an absolute régime. All free men enjoyed the right to participate in the assemblies convoked by the princes, generally in public places in the cities. These had to decide on important questions concerning administration and legislation, sometimes also on important judicial affairs. It was also in the interest of the prince to have popular support in urgent military matters.

The boyars of the prince's retinue, were also members of the princes' council, called *duma*, but the prince chose his councillors not only among his boyars, but also among the clergy and the elders of the cities who represented the population.

These are the main features of the political system established in the Kievan State.¹ Because of these evident differences between the Byzantine autocratic régime and the Kievan democratic system, it was generally believed that Byzantine political ideas had not penetrated into this first phase of Russian history, when Kiev was the centre of the whole nation.

It was thought that the Russians, after their Christianization by

¹ See for details G. Vernadsky, *Kievan Russia* (New Haven, 1948), and my book *The Slavs, Their Early History and Civilization* (Boston, 1956), pp. 189-255. Cf. also my papers 'The Kiev State and its relations with Western Europe, *Transactions of the R. Hist. Society*, 29 (London, 1947) and 'Les Bénédictines et la christianisation de la Russie, in *L'Eglise et les églises* (Chevetogne, 1951), pp. 223-249.

the Byzantine Church, had accepted only one leading idea of the Byzantine political theory, namely, that the Emperor of Constantinople was the representative of God on earth, that he was the supreme legislator for the Christians and the protector of the Church. They accepted the metropolitan of Kiev sent to them by the Emperor and the Patriarch, and until the first half of the fifteenth century, acknowledged this prominent position of the Byzantine Emperor.

The fact that their country was far from the Empire and that the Greek metropolitans exercised a beneficial influence on the quarrelling princes prevented the Russians of the Kievan period from embarking on policy followed by the Bulgarian and Serbian Tsars, who had attempted several times not to suppress the Basileus of Constantinople, but to put themselves in his place. The Byzantines, so it was thought, were satisfied with such acknowledgement of the main principle of their political theory. Of course, this submission of the Kievan princes to the supreme authority of the Emperor cannot be compared to the relation between vassal and sovereign, as has sometimes been done by historians not familiar with the Byzantine political system.

Although some echoes of the divine origin of rulership could be found in Kievan literature, it was doubtful if the rulers of Kiev were acquainted with other basic principles of the Byzantine political system. These doubts have recently been dispelled. I have been able to show² that it was possible for both the Kievan rulers and the clergy to be thoroughly acquainted with Byzantine political philosophy through the translations of Byzantine collections of imperial and ecclesiastical law. The oldest Slavic law book was adapted in the ninth century from the Greek official collection of laws, called *Ecloga*, by St Cyril, the Apostle of the Slavs. His brother St Methodius, translated the Greek collection called *Synagoge* for the Moravians. It reached Bulgaria in the tenth century, and Kiev after the Christianization of the Russians, at the end of the tenth or at the beginning of the eleventh centuries. Another collection was translated in Bulgaria in the tenth century or in Kiev in the eleventh, and is called the *Nomocanon of Fourteen Titles*. It also contains the translation of two official handbooks of Byzantine imperial law. These collections, called by the Russians the *Pilot's Book* (*Kormčaja Kniga*) became the basis on which the relations between Church

² 'Byzantine Political Ideas in Kievan Russia', *Dumbarton Oaks Papers*, 9-10 (1956), pp. 73-121.

and State were built in the Kievan state and also in Muscovite Russia.

Specialists have so far overlooked the fact that these collections contain many Byzantine imperial decrees, imperial letters addressed to bishops and ecumenical councils, which are penetrated by Byzantine ideas on the role of the ruler in a Christian commonwealth. To the first collection translations of many Novels of the Emperor Justinian were added, among them being the important Novel Six giving the Byzantine definition of the relations between Church and State. The translation is shorter than the original Greek and Latin text, but it expressed very clearly all the ideas in the original.³

A study of contemporary Kievan native literature and of the attitude of the first Christian Kievan rulers towards the Church reveals that the principles of harmony between the ecclesiastical and the secular power, and of the intimate collaboration of the hierarchy with the ruler, stressed by Justinian in his Novel Six, were fully applied in the Kievan State. The first Russian church order was issued by the first Christian Grand Prince Vladimir at the request of his bishops, who exhorted him that this was his duty according to Canon Law.⁴ The election of the bishops was regulated in the Byzantine manner – the presentation by the local clergy of three candidates, from amongst whom the prince had to choose – and the juridical position of the clergy was also defined according to the Byzantine pattern.

The Byzantine principle of a harmonious relationship and an intimate collaboration between the sacerdotium and the imperium – these two main factors in human society, as Justinian has it – became the guiding star for the political and religious evolution of Russia through many centuries to come. This explains why the Russian hierarchy always made its first task the maintenance of good relations with the ruling princes.

There is yet another important point which deserves to be stressed. Because Byzantine political philosophy knew no other political system than absolute monarchy by a ruler appointed by God, the Eastern Church naturally favoured only the autocratic government of a monarch, expecting from him rulership inspired by God's precepts. No wonder then, that even the Russian Church,

³ See the text, *ibid.*, p. 83.

⁴ See the English translation of *The Russian Primary Chronicle* by O. P. Sherbowitz-Wetzor (Cambridge, Mass. 1953).

following Byzantine example, rather favoured the government of one man. Although democratic principles prevailed in the Kievan State, this silent predilection of the Eastern Church for monarchy and autocracy lay like a substratum even in Kievan political speculation. In spite of the political division of the principalities, this predilection for unity in government was embodied, at least, in the idea of the unity and indivisibility of the Russian Church under the Metropolitan of Kiev.

This predilection of the Eastern Church for the government of one man helped also the Suzdalian Princes in the twelfth century, in the first attempt on Russian soil, after the decline of Kiev, at establishing an autocratic régime in their principalities. The first open praise of a strong monarchic régime was written in Byzantine fashion by an ecclesiastic bewailing the death of the first Russian autocrat, Andrew Bogoljubski (1175).⁵

The Muscovite Princes inherited the tradition of Suzdal and were again helped in the establishment of their monarchic autocracy by the Russian Church, always in favour of an autocracy, thus following the example and teaching of the Mother Church, Byzantium.

The idea of the unity and indivisibility of the Russian Church, embodied in the metropolitan of Kiev, was defended with the greatest stubbornness by the Emperors and Patriarchs of Constantinople. It was naturally in the interest of Byzantium to control the growth of Russian Christianity through the intermediary of a single metropolitan, who was often a Greek sent from Constantinople, than to have to deal with several metropolitans who could be tempted to aspire to a more independent position in their relations with the Mother Church.

This principle of religious unity of all Russia became a lode star for Moscow in the political field. Already Ivan Kalita, when the Metropolitan Peter had left Kiev in 1299 and fixed his residence first in Vladimir and then in Moscow where he died in 1326, called himself Grand Prince of Vladimir and of all Russia. This principle led Basil II, Ivan III, Basil III and Ivan IV not only to the merciless annexation of independent principalities in the 'reassemblment of

⁵ *Laurentian Chronicle* (2nd edit. Moscow, 1927), p. 370: 'The Apostle Paul writes: "Every soul should be subject to powers, because the powers are instituted by God." For the Tsar, in his earthly nature is similar to any earthly man, but, because of his power, he is of great dignity – like God. The great Chrysostom says: "He who opposes the power, opposes the law of God. The prince does not bear the sword in vain, for he is the servant of God".'

the Russian lands', to their struggle with Tver and with the Republic of Novgorod and Pskov, but also to their defence against Lithuania which wanted to realize the same ideal of reassembling of Russian lands around its capital Vilno. The union of Lithuania with Poland and its acceptance of Roman Catholicism transformed this political rivalry into religious struggle, the defence of Russian orthodoxy against the heretical West. This political and religious animosity built a wall of mistrust around Muscovite Russia and made its isolation from the West, which had deepened during the Mongolian period, almost impenetrable.⁶

In those circumstances some events happened which became fatal for the further evolution of Muscovite Russia; the rejection of the Union accepted by the Greeks at the Council of Florence (1439) and the severance of relations with Constantinople, accused of shamefully betraying the Orthodox faith.⁷ Basil II, adopting the language of the Byzantine Emperors, declared himself the protector of the true Orthodox faith. The capture of Constantinople by the Turks in 1453 was regarded as God's punishment for Byzantium's apostasy from orthodoxy.

The marriage of Ivan III with Zoe, Sophia Paleologue, the niece of the last Byzantine Emperor, Constantine XIII, gave, in the eyes of many, a kind of juridical sanction to the idea of Muscovite Russia as heir of Byzantium. It is an irony of history that this marriage was engineered by the Pope, Paul II who, hoping that the prince thus favoured would accept the union with Rome, was trying to sell to Ivan, husband of the heiress of Byzantium, the idea of liberating Constantinople from the Turks.

Zoe-Sophia, proud of her Byzantine ancestry, contributed considerably to a transformation of Moscow's court ceremonial. Ivan III adopted the coat of arms of the Byzantine emperors, the double-headed eagle,⁸ which remained in the Russian escutcheon for five hundred years until it was replaced by the red star, hammer and sickle in 1917.

Again the Russian churchmen helped considerably in their own

⁶ See for details Chapters IX, and XII of my forthcoming book *The Slavs in European History and Civilization*, to be published by Rutgers University Press (Brunswick, N.J.).

⁷ For details see the studies by I. Ševčenko, D. J. Geanakoplos and M. Cherniavsky in *Church History* 24 (1955), pp. 291-359.

⁸ See for details G. Vernadsky, *Russia at the Dawn of the Modern Age* (New Haven, 1959), pp. 13 seq. and J. L. I. Fennell, *Ivan The Great of Moscow* (London, 1961).

interests to develop this new ideology. If Moscow succeeded Constantinople, then the Metropolitan of Moscow could regard himself as autonomous and as the depository and interpreter of the true Orthodox faith which the new heir of Byzantium had to defend.

And so the Metropolitan Zosimus in 1492, called the Grand Prince 'the sovereign and autocrat of all Russia, new Tsar Constantine of the new city of Constantinople-Moscow.' Joseph Sanin, Abbot of Volokolamsk, is even more systematic in his exposition. He speaks in Byzantine fashion of the heavenly monarchy reflected on earth by the Imperial monarchy, and in a letter improves on the Byzantine doctrine as follows: 'By his nature, the Tsar is like other men, but by his dignity, he is equal to the Highest God. He is not merely God's servant, but His representative, watching over the purity of the faith and over the safety of the Church. For this reason, God gave him the sword.' There is also a touch of sun symbolism when Joseph describes the Tsar as surrounded by a divine halo of light. Though subject to law, especially Canon Law, his power is unlimited and everybody, even the Church, must obey him. Joseph also gives the Tsar a *svyatitelskij čin* – priestly character. The Church is above the temporal state, but in view of the Tsar's eminence, she is subject to him. He has the right to appoint and to supervise the bishops.⁹

His doctrine was further developed by his disciple, the Metropolitan Daniel. He combined the ideas of the spiritual and temporal powers and gave both to the divinely appointed Tsar. He also went further than his master by adjudging to the Tsar the right to persecute heretics and enemies of the Church.

In this atmosphere the idea of Moscow as the third Rome was born and was developed in numerous writings of the period. We should mention here the Abbot Pafnutij of Borovsk and his school, the Chronograph of 1512, and particularly the monk Filofej. The latter was the principal agent of the idea and for this reason he should be given a pre-eminent place in Russian political literature. In his letter to the Grand Duke he addressed him as 'the only Basileus of all Christians. All Christian rulerships come under the Basileia.' And he explained how the Russian Basileia or Tsardom succeeded the Roman and the Byzantine Basileia; that the Roman Empire was to last until the end of the world and that the Muscovite

⁹ Joseph expounded his ideas mainly in his *Prosvetitel* (3rd ed. Kazan, 1896), p. 547. See I. Sevčenko's excellent study 'A Neglected Byzantine Source of Muscovite Political Ideology', *Harvard Slavic Studies* 2 (1954), pp. 156 seq.

Tsardom, as its heir, was to be the last empire and after its destruction the eternal kingdom of God ruled by Christ would take its place. For this purpose, God had chosen Russia, and the Russian people thenceforward would be the holders of the true religion. Neither the first nor the second Rome succeeded in bringing about true peace among God's people. A new era was opening, the era of the third and last Rome.¹⁰

These few quotations from ecclesiastical writings, defining the autocracy of Moscow (and they could be multiplied) show clearly that the ideologists of Muscovite autocracy were inspired by Byzantine ideas. As a matter of fact, we find that Byzantine political literature was in great vogue in Russia at this period, as, for instance, the Greek treatise on kingship written in the sixth century by the deacon Agapetus and preserved in a Russian translation in manuscript dating from the fifteenth or sixteenth century;¹¹ the Instruction of Basil I to his son Leo VI, also in a Russian manuscript translation of the same period; the writings of Simeon of Saloniki in a Russian manuscript translation of the seventeenth century; another Greek treatise on kingship is to be found in a Russian Sbornik copied in the fifteenth century, though no Russian translation of it has so far been discovered. It also seems that Patriarch Photius' letter to Boris of Bulgaria on kingship and the treatise on kingship by Theophylact of Bulgaria (twelfth century) were unknown in Russia in the previous period and must have been translated at this time. All this is an indication that the study of Byzantine political literature was particularly intense at the time of Russia's political transformation, that is, during the fifteenth and sixteenth centuries, and that many Byzantine treatises on kingship, so far unknown in Russia, were translated or introduced into Moscow at that period. It is, thus, evident that Byzantine political ideas became the basis on which the Muscovite autocracy was built, and that Russian churchmen were responsible for the spread of Byzantine political ideas in Russia.

Many scholars think that the Muscovite princes were also

¹⁰ The best study of the subject remains H. Schaefer, *Moskau das Dritte Rom* (Hamburg, 1929, reprint 1957), with quotations of main sources. More recent bibliography is given by R. L. Wolff, 'The Three Romes. The Migration of an Ideology and the Making of an Autocrat', *Daedalus* (Amer. Academy, Boston, 1959), pp. 291-311. See also W. Kenneth-Medlin, *Moscow and East Rome* (Neufchatel, 1952), pp. 78 seq.

¹¹ See I Ševčenko, *A neglected Byz. Source*, pp. 153 seq.

inspired by the Mongolian absolutist régime. Tatar influences on Russia in many aspects of Russian national life are accepted by specialists in Russian history. There are undeniable influences in the evolution of Russian administration, military organization, financial system, taxation. Cruel Tatar methods of government were used by the Grand Dukes in subjugating Novgorod and Pskov and were also employed in judiciary procedure. Mongol influence on the Russian vocabulary has also been noted. A Tatarization of the Russian aristocracy is also admitted. Many princes married Tatar brides and, at the time, when Tatar might was declining, especially from the reign of Basil II onwards, numerous Tatar noble families settled on Russian soil and were Russified. Some features of the Muscovite court ceremonial point to their Mongolian origin. All this indicates that Tatar influences on Eastern Russia were profound, and that we also have to admit that the Mongol notion of an autocratic absolute régime impressed the Russians and helped to develop the Muscovite conception of autocracy. The fact that after the collapse of the Tatar Empire the Muscovite rulers regarded themselves as successors to the Khans is certainly significant in this respect,¹² but the ideology of the Muscovite autocracy was Byzantine.

There are, however, some important aspects of Muscovite autocracy as it developed before Ivan IV which differ considerably from the Byzantine political theory and this should make us cautious in attributing the origins of Muscovite autocracy to Byzantine influences only and in speaking of Muscovite Russia as the heir of Byzantium. The idea that the Great Prince of Moscow should regard himself as heir of Byzantium was suggested to Ivan III and Basil III by the Pope Paul II, by the Emperor Maximilian II and by the Grand Master of the Teutonic Order. They all wanted to win the Muscovite rulers for the anti-Turkish League which was then being formed. Strangely enough, the Grand Princes were absolutely unmoved by their invitations to consider Constantinople as their heritage. They were interested only in one heritage – the Russian principalities which were under Poland-Lithuania.

The Byzantine Emperor was regarded as the head of all Orthodox Christians. This idea seems to be implied also in some declarations of the ecclesiastical ideologists who were mainly responsible for the byzantinization of the Muscovite autocracy as it developed before the reign of Basil II and Ivan III. Circumstances had, however,

¹² Cf. G. Vernadsky, *The Mongols and Russia* (New Haven, 1953), pp. 332-390.

prevented the Muscovite Grand Princes from accepting, in its full meaning, the Byzantine interpretation of the Emperor's position. The Greeks had apostatized from Orthodoxy when they accepted the Union of Florence. The true Orthodoxy was now preserved only in Russia and the Grand Prince was its protector. The idea that he should become the head and the protector of all the Orthodox Greeks and the Balkan Slavs did not enter into the mind of the rulers of Muscovy. The idea that Moscow had become a Third Rome seems, at least at that early period of Muscovite autocracy, to imply not so much that Moscow has become the heir of Byzantium, but rather that it has replaced Byzantium which had become unfaithful to its mission and was, therefore, punished by God. Moreover, when Ivan III in his diplomatic correspondence says that all his ancestors were in good relations with the Roman Emperors who resided in Constantinople, he seems to want to suggest that the Muscovite rulers were equal in dignity to the Emperors of Constantinople. This, of course, is in contradiction to the Byzantine theory that there was only one full sovereign, the representative of God on earth – the Byzantine Emperor – and that all other Christian rulers were in one way or another, as it were, his vassals, sons or brothers, dependent on him.

It is even more pronounced in the political literature which was in great vogue under Ivan IV. The legend of Vladimir Monomach (1113-1125), according to which the Russian prince got the coronation insignia from the Emperor Constantine Monomach (1042-1054), was invented in order to show the glorious ancestry of the Muscovite princes and the ancient origin of their suzerainty. It is not difficult to see that the author of this legend presents the Russian sovereign ruler as equal to the Byzantine Emperor. It is also characteristic that the legendary genealogy of the Rurik dynasty goes as far as the Roman Emperor Augustus, who was said to have been the ruler of the whole world and who, when he divided his empire, gave the north eastern part of it to his brother Prus, who was the ancestor of Rurik. A Byzantine ancestry was not considered enough.

Albeit these differences with the Byzantine conceptions existed, some Byzantine ideas on kingship penetrated very deeply into the Russian mind. Ivan IV was the most byzantinized in this respect. This is how he defined the powers of the Tsar: 'The autocratic régime comes from God and the Tsar carries out God's wishes. He wields every power over all things and it is his duty to provide for

the salvation of his people which God had entrusted to his care.¹³ Any Byzantine political theorist would have agreed with this definition. He would have hesitated, however, if he could have read some passages of Ivan's correspondence with his former counsellor, Prince Kurbskij, who had left his service and had fled to Lithuania.¹³ Ivan IV stresses in the correspondence several times that the Tsar's power was absolute and that the obedience which his subjects owed him had no limits. Even if the Tsar should order something unlawful and sinful they would have to do it, because such is the will of God. They must await the judgment of God who will one day reward them for the injustice suffered on earth. Only in one case should the subjects refuse obedience, and that is if the Tsar orders something which is against the true faith. Ivan IV was so firmly convinced that an absolute autocracy, as he had defined it, was the only form of government willed by God, that he regarded it as his most sacred duty to go to the utmost limits in the realization of his idea. This shows also incidentally that the Muscovite conception of autocracy was still in need of further adaptation to the Christian ideal.

Thanks to the attitude of the Russian Church towards the autocratic régime, Muscovy was able to survive the great political crisis following the extinction of the Rurik dynasty called the 'Time of Trouble' and to revive the autocratic régime when the National Assembly elected Michael Romanov as Tsar (1613-1645). The idea of an autocracy was so firmly embedded in the Russian mind that even the practice of National Assemblies which had been introduced during the crisis was soon dismissed. Russia, who, during the Kievan period had boasted of being the only democratic institution in Europe at that time with its city assemblies called *večes*, voluntarily gave up the possibility of controlling her autocratic rulers through the elected representatives of the people.

The second Tsar of the new Romanov dynasty Alexis, seems to have come nearer to the Byzantine conception of the Tsar's duty when listening with sympathetic ear to the exhortations of Greek hierarchs to free Constantinople, and to become the head of all Orthodoxy, and when giving material and moral support to the southern Orthodox Slavs under Turkish supremacy. During the reign of his son, Fedor (1676-1682) a further byzantinization of the

¹³ See the edition and translation of this correspondence by J. L. I. Fennell, *The Correspondence between Prince A. M. Kurbskij and Tsar Ivan IV of Russia* (Cambridge, 1955), especially the first long letter, pp. 72-179.

tsarist autocracy was planned. The young Tsar considered introducing into his court Byzantine titles and dignities, and work was begun on the translation of the whole Code of Law of Justinian into the Russian language, thus basing the Russian legal system on Byzantine legal principles.¹⁴ It seemed possible that Justinian's ideas on harmony between Church and State would again become the leading principle in Russia.

This interesting development was, however, first slowed down by the attitude of the Patriarch Nikon during Alexis' reign and then stopped definitely by Peter the Great. Nikon was a strong-willed and ambitious man. He not only introduced a strict autocratic régime in the administration of the Church, but began to behave as a Tsar, imposing his will on the young ruler and assuming the tsarist title of 'Gosudár'.

Jettisoning the traditional Byzantine and Russian principle of harmony between Church and State, Nikon tried to establish in Russia the principle of the superiority of spiritual power over the temporal. His main argument for this thesis, unheard of in the East up till then, was the spurious Latin document, the famous *Donatio Constantini*, the alleged privileges given by Constantine the Great to Pope Sylvester I. The tragedy was that Nikon should have found this document at a time when two Western humanists, L. Vala and Nicholas de Cues, had proved that it was a gross falsification of the eighth or ninth century. Nikon saw in it the decisive argument for the validity of his thesis.

It was a doctrine alien to the Byzantine and Eastern mentality and it threatened to revolutionize relations between Church and State in Russia. This fact alone was bound to provoke sharp opposition. Moreover, Nikon himself behaved as a ruthless autocrat and persecuted mercilessly the Old Believers who had refused to accept his revision of the Russian liturgical books. He was condemned by the Muscovite Synod (1666, 1667) at which all Eastern patriarchs were represented.

Peter the Great remembered the unfortunate incident with Nikon, and came to the decision that it would be in the interest of the autocratic state to discontinue the Patriarchal institution and to replace the Patriarchate by a Synod. Moreover, because of his secular and practical mind Peter was attracted by the secular and utilitarian

¹⁴ See G. Ostrogorski, 'Das Projekt der Rangtabelle aus der Zeit des Caren Fedor', *Jahrbücher für Kultur und Geschichte der Slaven*, 9 (1933), pp. 86-138.

conception of the State which was then current in Western Europe and with which he became acquainted during his travels. A German theoretician – Puffendorf – seems to have inspired him most, as well as the philosopher Leibnitz. Puffendorf looked upon religion as necessary for an autocratic state because it guaranteed the moral behaviour of men and the fulfilment of their duties to the State. This principle appealed to Peter¹⁵ and was further developed during the reign of Catherine II under the influence of Western philosophical and political theories which were spreading more and more among Russian intellectuals. Against this flood of Western ideas the Russian clergy was unable to put up a barrier strong enough to stop or, at least, to slow down the secularization of the Synod and the subordination of the Church to the needs of the secularized State.

This explains, perhaps, how it came about that the tsarist régime after Peter the Great was dominated by two contradictory principles. On one side was the absolute autocracy, instituted by God. This concept was supported by the Church which had helped to develop it and saw in it the inheritance of Byzantium. On the other side was the idea of a secularized State which regarded the Church merely as a means of assuring its own worldly welfare. The Russian Church paid a heavy price in the blood of her clergy and her faithful, for this development after the revolution of 1917.

It seems that the greatest misfortune for Russia was that it never had the opportunity of acquiring the full ideological and cultural heritage of Byzantium and to adapt it to its proper needs. The promising development during the Kievan period was interrupted by the Mongolian invasion which separated Muscovy for over two centuries, from the rest of the world. Peter's precipitated reforms ended abruptly the attempts at a new adaptation of Byzantine political ideas during the reign of his father Alexis and brother Fedor. It is possible that, given more time, Russia would have been able to find the right solution of its problems in adapting its Byzantine political inheritance to new ideas coming from the West. There lay the roots of the Russian tragedy of today.

¹⁵ See the best study on Peter's religious policy by R. Stupperich, *Staatsgedanke und Religionspolitik Peters des Grössen* (Königsberg, Berlin, 1936).

ANGLICANS AND ORTHODOXY

by John Lawrence

IF you ask an average pew-sitting member of the Church of England what he thinks of the Eastern Orthodox Churches, he will probably answer vaguely 'Aren't they Roman Catholics?' or, equally likely, 'They're in communion with us, aren't they?' Neither answer indicates much awareness of the eastern half of Christendom. Yet if that same average Anglican comes into a living contact with the Orthodox Church, he will discover a profound affinity; and he may go on to discover a difference within this affinity, a difference which may escape ultimate analysis, yet a difference whose exploration will enrich his spiritual life beyond measure. At the present moment the Church of England is wide open to Orthodox influences and the Archbishop of Canterbury is deeply sympathetic with the Eastern Church. It would not, I think, be an exaggeration to say that Dr Ramsey has a deeper understanding of the eastern half of Christendom than any of his predecessors since Theodore of Tarsus, who was himself a Greek. His elevation to the See of Canterbury at this juncture must surely be considered providential.

The chief purpose of this article is to assess the present and potential influence of Eastern Orthodoxy on the Church of England, but first it is necessary to discuss the affinities between the two Churches. For the present purpose the differences can be taken for granted. Much of what is said here would be true not only of the Church of England but also of other branches of the Anglican Communion. There are, however, some differences. In America, the Protestant Episcopal Church lives side by side with very large Churches of eastern European origin; this fact gives American Anglicanism an experience of Orthodoxy which is different from anything in England. The same is true of Australia in a lesser degree.

The Scottish Episcopal Church has a liturgy that has been influenced by Eastern models and contains an Epiclesis. The Scottish prayer book has influenced the American and other prayer books. So, though the Book of Common Prayer used in England has no Epiclesis, about half the Anglican communicants in the world are accustomed to some form of Epiclesis in their eucharistic worship. The direct influence of such things cannot be traced, but they prepare the way for an acceptance of other elements in eastern spirituality. The Church of Ireland, which claims to be the senior church of the Anglican Communion, claiming descent not from St Augustine but from St Patrick, has no Epiclesis but the Irish prayer book has some prayers from eastern liturgies. The newly-formed Anglican province of Uganda now has among its neighbours African Christians who acknowledge the jurisdiction of the Greek See of Alexandria; these groups are small and some of them appear to have only a shadowy grasp of Orthodoxy, but their potential importance has not been lost on Anglicans.

It may be an historical accident but it is certainly an historical fact that the Church of England has never quarrelled with the Eastern Orthodox Churches. At the worst there has been some peripheral friction. There is no rivalry, there are no catalogues of wrongs inflicted, no smouldering memories of wars of religion, no feeling that the other's real purpose is to undermine one's own position. All this might change if either Church set itself to convert members of the other to its own allegiance, but hitherto this has not happened on a significant scale. In conversations between Anglicans and Presbyterians or Anglicans and Roman Catholics there are so many hurt feelings, such a deep suspicion on all sides that the others won't understand because, if they did, their position would crumble — or so we think. When Eastern Orthodox and Anglicans meet, there is very little of this. Each wants to understand the other, and no one has a secret fear that to find the others right may be to find oneself wrong. There are differences, of course, and the differences can be baffling, but there is little temptation to get angry about them, or to raise one's voice.

The psychological conditions are right for meetings between Orthodox and Anglicans, but this would not account for the depth of meeting which takes place. Evidently there are affinities, and perhaps there are needs which can only be met through such meetings. What is the origin of the affinities? It is sometimes argued that British Christianity has a largely Eastern origin through the pre-

Augustinian Christianity which was preserved by the Celtic Church. It is argued that the first missionaries to Britain came from Gaul where they were under the influence of Irenaeus who was an Easterner; and it is pointed out that in Ireland the study of Greek persisted longer than elsewhere in the West. Moreover, Theodore of Tarsus came to impart an Eastern slant to Latin Christianity in this country during its formative phase. Such arguments rouse my suspicion. They may contain a grain of truth, but hardly more than a grain. They would never have been taken seriously if many Anglicans had not given way to the temptation to play down the relations between Rome and the mediaeval Ecclesia Anglicana. British Christianity does not look as if it was under any particular Eastern influence between, say, Johannes Scotus Erigena and Cranmer; but with Cranmer a new element comes in.

Since the Reformation the Church of England has sought a non-papal Catholicism. Some will say that this is a contradiction in terms, and others may think that in any case the search has not been very successful. Yet, rightly or wrongly, the Church of England has always conceived herself as representing Catholic Christianity freed from what Anglicans, so long as they remain Anglicans, are bound to regard as a serious lack of balance among Western theologians in the late middle ages. Anglicans are bound to feel a special concern lest the violence of this purging, necessary as it was held to be, might have gone farther than was desirable in some directions. The practice and teaching of the Eastern Orthodox churches provides a convenient touchstone for deciding what things may find a place within a national branch of the Catholic Church without tending towards papalism, or as I would prefer to say, a distorted form of papalism. To put what is really the same point in a negative form there are Anglicans who would like to use Orthodoxy to score points off Rome. It should be admitted that Anglican interest in the Eastern Churches may start from a grudging hostility to Rome, but if so it goes far beyond its starting point.

Cranmer was interested in the Eastern liturgies. One indication of this interest is that he took the prayer of the third antiphon from the liturgy of St John Chrysostom and placed it as the concluding prayer in both Matins and Evensong where it has become one of the best known and best loved prayers in the Church of England. Apart from the Epiclesis in the Scottish Prayer Book and the books derived from it, there is no obvious eastern influence on the *structure* (as opposed to the wording) of the Anglican liturgy but it may

well be that a word here and a phrase there taken by Cranmer from the Eastern liturgies have been secretly preparing Anglican hearts for a meeting with the Eastern Churches. The phrase 'when two or three are gathered together in Thy name'¹ in the context of the 'Prayer of St Chrysostom' has prepared the way for the reception of *Sobornost* into Anglican life and for the ideas of the Liturgical Revival. Am I exaggerating? I do not think so. A prayer that has been so often repeated and so much loved can have consequences beyond our seeing.

The great majority of Anglicans see Cranmer's work through Hooker's spectacles. This has strengthened the patriotic emphasis in the Church of England's understanding of herself, and thus helps to put her in tune with Orthodoxy. Moreover the *Preces Privatae* of Lancelot Andrewes have had an enormous influence on Anglican devotional life ever since the generation after Hooker, and they have reinforced the patriotic and Grecian tendencies in the Church of England.

It is often said that, whereas the Roman Church is Petrine and the Lutheran and Reformed Churches are Pauline, the Orthodox and Anglican Churches are Johannine. This assertion is not a definition of theological positions and it would be easy to find striking exceptions to it, but it does indicate a spiritual emphasis. The Anglican mind, like the Orthodox mind, shrinks from juridical definition and from what seems to it a too rigid conception of authority; it shrinks equally from the theological precisions of Continental Pauline theology; but it is instinctively at home with the transfigurational theology of the Eastern Church. I am not claiming this as a merit but stating what I believe to be a fact.

Anglicans are morbidly nervous of ecclesiastical authority and it sometimes seems that they are neurotically inhibited from an objective examination of the father figure of their fears. So their thoughts about authority are often confused. Their attitude to what seems to them over-precise theological definition is not neurotic, but it is equally distrustful. As an Anglican, I think that the Anglican protests against what we take to be a misconception of the nature of ecclesiastical authority and against an excessive emphasis upon rigorous theological definition are necessary protests, but this is not the place for Anglican apologetic. Here I am only concerned

¹ I am reminded that the best rendering of the best text of this prayer may be 'Where two or three agree together in Thy name' but this does not affect my point.

to point out that an emphasis on one aspect of truth may have obscured our apprehension of other aspects. Let me illustrate this from the other end of the ecclesiastical spectrum. One of the reasons why a union between the Church of England and the Church of Scotland is desirable is that it would make Anglicans feel that Scottish theology belonged to them; and that would bring them up against some hard thinking about fundamental problems of theology. Sloppy Anglican thinking would be challenged in a new way and I am convinced that one of the paradoxical consequences would be to make Anglican thinking both more Catholic and more Evangelical in the proper sense of both words.

By contrast, the Greek Church's reputation for retaining greatly varying theological interpretations in an unresolved tension was congenial to Anglicans and the exceptionally early rise of Greek studies in England made it natural for English theologians to turn to the Greek fathers as soon as their works became available to them. In the Church of England the Greek fathers have been read and honoured to a degree that is unusual in the West. The Anglican appeal to the traditions of 'the undivided Church' predisposes Anglicans to examine the ways in which the Latin tradition might have lost through lack of familiarity with the Greek fathers and their traditions of church life. So Greek studies were already preparing Anglican hearts and minds for contact with Eastern Orthodoxy long before there was regular personal contact between members of the two churches.

Cranmer set a standard of worship that was both liturgical and congregational. He also intended that Communion should be frequent; and Anglicans should remind themselves that frequent communion is a part of the Cranmerian standard which they have not always practised; but the tradition of a worship that is both congregational and liturgical has struck deep roots. That is one reason why the worship of the Liturgical Revival in the Roman Church appeals so strongly to Anglicans. For the same reason the eastern liturgies are intensely congenial to Anglicans when they become acclimatized to the peculiarities of eastern worship. From one point of view the Anglican liturgy is a poor relation of the Latin Mass and the Liturgy of St John Chrysostom, yet, being in the vernacular, and being liturgical, it has sunk into the hearts of believers over the last four hundred years with a special intimate intensity.

In the last 150 years the Anglican Communion has become

diffused throughout most of the world and has thus had to face the problems of an international ecclesiastical polity. Instinctively the Church of England has adopted the same solution as the Eastern Orthodox Church. The overseas Provinces of the Anglican Communion are in effect autocephalous Churches with the Archbishop of Canterbury playing on a smaller scale the role of the Ecumenical Patriarch; but it should be noted that the Protestant Episcopal Church has not, or not yet, treated its overseas extensions in this way; no new province has been created for those Anglicans in Latin America who owe their existence to missionaries from the United States. There is, however, a significant difference between the Anglican Provinces and the autocephalous Churches of Eastern Orthodoxy. The Orthodox Church, like the Church of Rome, conceives herself to be the Catholic Church. The Anglican Churches conceive themselves to be a *part* of the Catholic Church. Therefore, there is bound to be something provisional and temporary about the structure of the Anglican Communion. Explain it how you will, and whatever qualifications you make, the existence of separated branches of the Catholic Church is an anomaly, an anomaly for whose disappearance Anglicans must work and pray. So they have no good reason to wish for the perpetuation of their own communion in separation from the rest of the Catholic Church. In a reunited Church most of the Anglican provinces would, one supposes, disappear as separate entities, though what is good in their tradition would not, one hopes, disappear. In the meantime the Anglican Churches have to conform as well as they can to what they take to be God's pattern for the mutual relations of Christians in different nations.

The Anglican instinct is to take the loose connection of the autocephalous Orthodox Churches as a fully adequate model. Conciliar and synodical rule appeals to the Anglican mind, but Anglicans are reluctant to accept any visible centre of unity. Already, however, the relations of the Anglican Provinces with each other are reaching a stage when at least a continuous process of systematic consultation is going to be necessary if the Provinces are not to drift hopelessly apart. The appointment of Bishop Stephen Bayne as Executive Officer of the Anglican Communion is a significant step. Hitherto the Anglican Churches, like the Orthodox Churches, have been held together by a common liturgy as much as by anything else, but in this age of liturgical reform and local adaptation that link is likely to wear thin. So in this respect at

least, the pressure of circumstances is likely to take the Anglican Churches into a relation with each other that is more complex than merely a recognition of each other's catholicity and autocephaly.

It is often supposed that the Anglican feeling of affinity with the Eastern Churches is confined to High Church people, but this is not so. There are narrow-minded people among all types of churchmanship and there are narrow Evangelicals who have little understanding for anything outside their own brand of Christianity, but more normal Evangelicals are as open as other Anglicans to influences from the Eastern Churches. At first they may be slightly over-cautious about accepting the use of the unfamiliar material symbols with which Orthodox worship abounds, but reasonable explanations are listened to and the meaning behind the symbols is soon accepted. A Catholic friend asks me 'What about icons?' I reply that the place of icons in Orthodox worship causes less difficulty than might be expected. I think the reason for this is that icons are not associated with the abuses of late mediaeval theology which caused the Reformation. In the eyes of Protestants the scandal is not so much superstition as what I may perhaps call the quantification of grace, and its consequent manipulation, leading to systematic simony. The question is complex and the Protestants may be wrong in this diagnosis; the point is that they have no reason to suspect the Orthodox of these particular distortions.

Speaking for myself, if I try to distinguish for a moment what is in fact indistinguishable, I find that Orthodox worship speaks first to the Evangelical in me and only afterwards to the 'Catholic' in me. However that may be, it is through Orthodox worship that 'Catholic' customs connected with incense, vestments, candles, the sign of the cross, and other externals may be accepted by Evangelical Anglicans who would reject the same things if they came to them through Roman Catholics, or indeed through other Anglicans whom they might suspect of Romanizing tendencies. In the latter case Evangelicals may feel they are being 'got at', whereas most Orthodox seem to be completely unselfconscious about the differences between themselves and other Christians. In normal circumstances, no one would be likely to suspect the Orthodox of trying to convert you to their Church, but I must emphasize that this Anglican receptivity could be endangered if the conversionist efforts of what is now a small minority of Orthodox became general.

For many reasons, the soil is fruitful, but it remained uncultivated

for a long time because Orthodox and Anglicans lived at opposite ends of Europe and did not meet each other. The fascinating correspondence between the Non-Jurors and the Eastern Churches at the beginning of the eighteenth century was an indication of things to come but one swallow does not make a summer. It was not until the middle of the nineteenth century that serious and lasting contacts became established. It would be an exaggeration to say that the first contacts had any measurable influence on either of the Churches, though Khomyakov's correspondence with William Palmer of Magdalen induced Khomyakov to write a famous and original exposition of the Orthodox understanding of the Church, an exposition which has influenced many subsequent thinkers. One gets the impression that the Orthodox met a few stray Anglicans but did not succeed in focusing on the Church of England. Indeed it was naïve of Anglicans to suppose at that stage that their church would seem anything but a strange national aberration; as some readers may indeed think the Church of England to be. On the Anglican side interest in the Eastern Church was bookish and romantic rather than the fruit of experience; there was a tendency to regard it as the preserve of a few cranks. How different it would have been if Frederick Denison Maurice had known the Orthodox! He might easily have met Khomyakov on one of his visits to England. Surely those two great men would have understood each other. How different the work of each would have been if he had known the other! How different the Oxford Movement would have been if it had been in living contact with Eastern Orthodoxy! If J. M. Neale had lived and had visited Russia!

Perhaps the dreadful nineteenth century squabbles in the Church of England would have been less bitter if a living contact with the eastern churches had been established earlier. Those searing quarrels became stupid because they were fought out in terms of two purely western traditions; no accommodation seemed possible so long as the argument was conceived in purely western terms. If in the twentieth century our quarrels have become less bitter, that is partly because we have become less provincial. We are beginning to learn that two opposing theological concepts may not exhaust the possibilities, that there may be a third view which obliges both opponents to re-examine their assumptions.

In 1863 J. M. Neale and others succeeded in establishing the Eastern Church Association (now called the Anglican and Eastern Churches Association), a body which will soon be celebrating its

centenary. There were now enough Anglicans interested in the Eastern Orthodox Church to make the existence of such a body possible but interest was still confined to a fairly small circle. Everything depended on a few pioneers. At the end of the nineteenth century and until his death in 1917, W. J. Birkbeck conducted more or less singlehanded a pioneering job of establishing contacts between the Russian Orthodox Church and the Church of England. Birkbeck was a Norfolk country gentleman, a High Church Anglican, related to Buxtons, Gurneys and Barclays. He early perceived the spiritual importance of the Russian Orthodox Church and set himself to bring members of that church and of his own church to understand each other. His country neighbours knew of his frequent visits to Russia and they knew that he was a devout churchman, but they had little idea of the nature of his interest in Russia; he did not cast his pearls before swine, but among those who understood what was at stake he carried on a continuous work of education. He and Fr Walter Frere C.R., afterwards Bishop of Truro, did much to prepare the way for the extraordinary growth in the intensity of Anglican-Orthodox relations between the wars. They were both greatly loved in Russia and on the fortieth anniversary of Birkbeck's death the Journal of the Moscow Patriarchate carried a commemorative article. So far as I know the occasion went unmarked in Birkbeck's own country.

The ground was being prepared in other ways too. Anglican missionary societies have long been working in countries where there is an important minority consisting of Christians belonging to the Eastern Churches and this has brought them into a living contact with eastern forms of Christianity. It so happens that the societies working in these areas have nearly always had a marked evangelical emphasis. The Church Missionary Society, which was founded by Wilberforce and other members of 'the Clapham Sect' in 1799, works, among other places, in Egypt, Palestine, Iran and Travancore in South India. This has brought the C.M.S. into relation with the Coptic and Orthodox Churches in Egypt, with many of the ancient Eastern Churches in Palestine, with the Armenian and Assyrian Churches in Persia and with the 'St Thomas Christians' on the Malabar coast. The Church of England does not undertake missionary work directed to converting to Anglicanism those who are already Christians belonging to another church. In England the Church of England claims to be the Catholic Church of the land and has sometimes adopted unjustifiable means for enforcing the

acceptance of her claim, but she holds that the one Church will have a different embodiment in other countries, and she does not presume to force her national peculiarities on the Christians of other countries. When her missionaries make converts from non-Christian faiths they teach them Anglican doctrine and ways of worship, but when the Church of England is in her right mind, her missionary societies are reluctant to accept converts from other churches.

What is felt to be the right attitude was exemplified above all by the work of Temple Gairdner, of Cairo, a C.M.S. missionary who died in 1928 at the age of 54. Gairdner's life was dedicated to evangelism among Moslems. A man of extraordinary gifts and devotion he could have done what others have done; he could have built for his own denomination a flourishing church composed of former adherents of other churches; but he preferred to make a few true converts from Islam and to let his own church remain small. The Coptic Church saw that he accepted them as brothers and close relations grew up between them and the small but not undistinguished group of Egyptian Anglicans. Gairdner died over thirty years ago but his work was continued by his successors in the C.M.S. Egypt Mission. They would not want to make large claims for their part in improving ecumenical relations in Egypt but Egypt is, so far as I know, the only country where Roman Catholics, members of the Eastern Churches, Protestants and Anglicans have joined in a Christian Council which can on occasion speak for all churches. This can be an important thing when a divided Christian community has to deal with a non-Christian government.

Temple Gairdner was connected with the very evangelical O.I.C.C.U. (Oxford Inter-Collegiate Christian Union) when he was an undergraduate, and he remained a strong evangelical in the positive meaning of the word; but he was not partisan in his churchmanship. When asked whether he was High, Low or Broad Church, he answered that he wanted to be Deep Church. At a time when church rivalry was more intense than it is now, he always refused to regard Roman Catholics as rivals. It is recorded that once when he came out of a church in America he met the congregation of a Roman Catholic church coming out of mass. He was walking in the opposite direction to them, but this struck him as unfriendly so he turned round and walked with the Catholics. He had a deep spiritual friendship with Père Louis Massignon, the great Arabist, with whom he corresponded for twenty years. Such personal friendships

contributed much and in many ways to the friendship between Eastern and Western Christians in Egypt.

It should not be pretended that Temple Gairdner was a typical Anglican missionary. He was in every way an exceptional man. Anglican missionary societies have not always been easy neighbours. It would be disingenuous not to mention the schism in Travancore in South India by which the Mar Thoma Church broke away from the 'Syrian' Church. This schism took place over a hundred years ago under the influence of C.M.S. missionaries and has produced on a small scale a sort of Eastern Anglicanism, namely an eastern church that is both 'Catholic' and Reformed in the sense in which Anglicans understand these words. While regretting the multiplication of schisms, Anglicans are bound to praise God for the gifts He has given to the Mar Thoma Church and notably for her missionary zeal, hitherto a rare thing among the eastern churches.

Yet Gairdner's attitude represents something central in Anglican tradition, and this may be illustrated from a very different quarter. The Bible Churchmen's Missionary Society (B.C.M.S.) is the most extreme Evangelical missionary society in the Church of England.

It is doing some remarkable work in Ethiopia, and I hope it will not be thought uncharitable to say that the state of Coptic Christianity in Abyssinia is such as to put rather a severe strain on an evangelical conscience. Yet the B.C.M.S. refuses to set itself up as a rival to the Coptic Church and has conceived the task of its missionaries as being to help the Coptic Church to become what her Lord intends her to be. Illustrations could be multiplied. More than once evangelical missionaries have come to me, their eyes glowing from the discovery of Orthodox worship. Here, they say, is an eastern form of worship, and they wonder whether such worship is not God's chosen instrument for the conversion of the east.

In giving these particulars I am not trying to make out that the Anglican view of the relation between differing national expressions of church life is the correct view. I can see that another ecclesiology, whether Roman or Protestant, would lead to different results. Still less am I implying that Anglicans always, or even generally, live up to their principles. What I am saying is that through some of her missionary work the Church of England in her evangelical aspect has been brought into a living relation with some of the Eastern Churches and that Anglican theology is at home in the

resulting situation. This has prepared the way for an eastern influence on the Church of England both in the present age, and perhaps still more in the future.

Large numbers of Russian exiles began to arrive in the west after the first world war, at a time when the modern ecumenical movement was beginning to get into its stride; and the exiles included famous religious thinkers such as Nicholas Berdyaev and Serge Bulgakov, as well as many ordinary believers. For the first time large numbers of Anglicans and Free Church people began to meet Eastern Orthodox Christians in the flesh and the experience added a dimension to their understanding of the Church. The Student Christian Movement played a notable part in these contacts; many who are now prominent in the ecumenical movement gained their first experience of the eastern churches through S.C.M. gatherings. An Orthodox leaven began to penetrate the lump of British Christianity by means of innumerable personal encounters. The starting point was always Orthodox worship and the life of prayer. It would be interesting to know how many Anglicans there are who use the Jesus Prayer and how fast their numbers are growing. The fact that a fair number of Anglicans have had at least some experience of Orthodox worship has had a considerable effect on the liturgical revival in the Church of England and has helped to prepare the way for the Parish and People movement, a movement of liturgical renewal which cuts across the old divisions into High and Low Church.

The chief instrument for effecting contacts between Anglicans and Orthodox is the Fellowship of St Alban and St Sergius which was founded in 1928. For many years the long, leisurely summer conferences of the Fellowship have been a seeding ground for ecumenical friendship. Whole families come to these conferences and people meet at every level. Babies make friends with bearded Archimandrites and famous theologians endlessly discuss the *arcana* of their discipline. People of all ages and every degree of theological understanding learn to take part in the Liturgy and share in the theological discussions according to the measure of their capacity. Fr Serge Bulgakov and Dr Michael Ramsey are among those who have taken a prominent part in these discussions, which are sometimes quite beyond the comprehension of people of ordinary attainments. However, I have also seen quite small children attend lectures which would seem to be altogether beyond their range, and ask intelligent questions at the end.

No one can know for certain the consequences of these and other contacts. I hazard my guess.

Contact with Eastern Orthodox Christianity is giving the Church of England a new feeling for the corporate nature of the common life of the faithful. This has come at a moment when the whole of western Christendom, in its increasing disillusion with the consequences of many centuries of individualism, is groping for something of this kind. This new corporate feeling or understanding is working itself out in many ways, and notably in worship, not only in eucharistic worship but pre-eminently in that. I do not think that we have yet seen all the implications of corporate thinking about the church. The corporate way of regarding the sacred ministry of the church, which is characteristic of Orthodoxy could, I suspect, make some of our arguments look rather provincial. I have in mind particularly the arguments about the ministry between Anglicans and the non-episcopal churches.

If the corporate way in which the Orthodox think about religion is something new to Anglicans, the transfigurational theology of the east seems to me something that has always been near to the heart of Anglican spirituality but which is now acquiring clearer means of expression. Dr Ramsey's book *The Glory of God and Transfiguration of Christ* was the first fruits of this. I could not argue the case properly but I feel in my bones that here we have something of tremendous importance for the future of the Church. When more of us begin to understand Gregory Palamas we may be able to see a little farther in that direction.

At present Palamas is, so to speak, hull down on the horizon, but we are drawing nearer to him. Those Anglicans who are aware of his thought are often drawn most powerfully towards him; there are many good reasons for this, but there is also a reason which is not altogether good. It is tempting for Anglicans to see Palamism as a system which can be put in the place of the Thomist system. No doubt Palamas's way of thinking does avoid the special difficulties of the ways of thought that prevailed in the late middle ages and during the Reformation, but to leave it at that is unjust to both the eastern and western traditions and reflects a fundamentally unecumenical way of thinking. I have not the competence to make an adequate comparison of the Thomist and Palamite ways of thinking, or should one not say the Thomist and Palamite ways of loving God with the mind? Surely the truth must be that the thought of Aquinas and the thought of Palamas are strong at

different points and weak at different points and that we need both to help us to see different aspects of a truth which will always surpass our comprehension. Yet since we are Westerners our understanding is likely to be weak at just those points where Palamas could help us and our first need is to get his help. In particular some of us suspect that he could cast light on the deeper causes of the Reformation and of those things which still divide the western churches. Perhaps he could also help us to understand the deeper causes of western secularism.

I have never been able to understand whether there is really a difference between the Eastern and the Western Churches in their conception of the work of the Holy Spirit in the Church. I have listened with imperfect comprehension to arguments of almost Florentine length about the *Filioque* clause. The one clear point that I take away with me is that in the eastern church the Holy Spirit is more in the centre of the life of prayer than has been the case for many centuries in the west. There must be a practical lesson here. I do not yet see clearly what this lesson is, but I am coming to think that meditative use of the prayer 'Heavenly King, Comforter ...' may lead us to the heart of that aspect of Orthodox spirituality.

Anglicans are always intrigued by the different relation between priesthood and laity which they find in the Eastern Church, but they are slow to see that the differences might have something to say to them. A preaching ministry exercised by a theologically trained laity plays an important part in some parts of the Orthodox Church. Something of this kind will, I should think, become an accepted thing in the Church of England in the course of the next twenty years. The now familiar office of reader shows on a small scale something of what might be done in the conditions of the Church of England.

There is much thinking in process in the Church of England on the proper functions of the laity in this and other respects, but so far this thought is seldom related to the experience of some of the Orthodox Churches in such matters as the use of lay theologians. Similarly the discussion of a 'supplementary ministry' composed of ordained men who continue to gain their living by secular activities is considered by many Anglicans to be a matter of the highest importance, but it is generally discussed without any reference to the tradition by which in some Orthodox Churches the married parish clergy continue to earn their living by secular occupations such as cultivating land. It is true that social conditions in the Ortho-

dox countries are very different and that Orthodox experience would not as a rule be directly applicable in Anglican conditions, but I hardly think this is the reason why Anglicans are so slow to be interested in the Orthodox view of the relation between laity and priesthood, and between church and society. The fact is that the two churches have only touched each other at certain points. Vast areas of life and thought on both sides remain totally unaffected and one reason for this is a weakness in the Anglican approach to the Orthodox.

When there are formal contacts between the Church of England and the Orthodox Churches, care is always taken that the theological range of the Church of England should be fully represented. There could be no question of the Orthodox on these occasions not being aware in at least a general way of the strength and nature of the Evangelical witness in the Church of England, but in informal meetings, which in the long run are more important than formal meetings, there is a failure to put any challenge to the Orthodox. Anglicans come to sit at the feet of the Orthodox and to learn. That is good and right. I am one of those who think that the Western Church has more to learn from the eastern than *vice versa*. No one can say what the western church will be like when she has fully taken into her own life all that can be learnt from the eastern churches. But it is certain that all the Western Churches will be profoundly modified and that they will be brought much nearer to each other in the process. Yet the traffic will not be all one way. Western Christians of all churches have inherited a tradition of civic and missionary responsibility which has given many wonderful gifts to the world. Behind this there is a theological view of creation and redemption which is not, I am bound to think, contrary to corresponding views held in the Eastern Church but which complements these views. To most western Christians the eastern theology of the Church's mission to society, both in Christian lands and in 'the mission field', seems vague and unsatisfactory. The challenge of western views should be put to the Orthodox and we should seek to engage them in dialogue over the whole field of church life.

Anglicans have some share in the general inheritance of western Christians. They also have a share in those things that issued from the Reformation, and, rightly or wrongly, most of them put a high value on that part of their inheritance. It would not be particularly useful at this stage to put to the Orthodox evangelical doctrinal emphases in the form of an argued theological position. As always

the right starting point is the life of prayer. If evangelical devotional practices, and in particular evangelical ways of using the Bible in prayer, were shown to the Orthodox as a living spiritual reality, theological comprehension would follow. This is not the place for guessing whether any traditional forms of theological expression that are dear to any of us would have to be modified or abandoned. The Holy Spirit will guide us into all truth; but he will guide us in his own way and at his own time, not in the ways that we choose or expect.

RUSSIAN CATHOLICS AND ECUMENISM IN THE TWENTIETH CENTURY

by Irene Posnoff

I BEGIN this paper in commemoration of Dom Bede Winslow with a personal recollection. At our first meeting, when I was a student at Louvain, Dom Bede gave me as a souvenir a picture of the great Doctors of the Eastern Church, and wrote on it: 'Learn to understand your religious traditions, love them and live by them', followed by the exhortation: 'And pray in your heart the prayer of Jesus.'

This attitude on the part of a Latin priest made a great impression on me: it was the first time that anyone from the West had exhorted me to love and deepen my understanding of Eastern traditions for their own sake and not just because they might be useful for reunion work. This gesture seems to me to be characteristic of the whole mentality of Dom Bede. In fact the success of his work for unity is explained not by the skill with which he handled different ideas, but much more by the love which gave him a clear vision of things and allowed him to maintain thoroughly cordial relations both with Christians in union with Rome and with those separated from her.

It sometimes happens that Catholic workers for unity prefer not to make too obvious contacts with Oriental Catholics so as to avoid the suspicion of double-dealing. But as for Dom Bede, his sincerity and loyalty to all was so evident that he had no need for diplomacy. He encouraged everyone to work for the accomplishment of Christ's will: 'Ut unum sint,' in the setting of universal Christendom.

It is precisely fidelity to the traditions of Eastern Christianity that is the one basis of reconciliation between Eastern Christians united

with and separated from Rome. This was underlined by one of the most authoritative voices of the Catholic East, Maximos IV, Melkite Patriarch of Antioch and All the East, in a masterly lecture given at Dusseldorf on August 9th, 1960: *The Catholic East and Christian Unity: our vocation as workers for unity*. We shall cite some extracts from it. Our separated brethren's unfavourable attitude towards us is explained, he says, by their still so easily seeing us as 'mercenaries of the religious politics of the Vatican, or unconscious workers serving, though unknown to ourselves, the ambitions that are supposed to animate the Roman Church.' Now 'the West often thinks of unity as uniformity: what is not absorbed seems to it imperfectly united.' Its ambition, then, would be to absorb the East, and any Eastern Catholics who collaborated with the West in this task would thus betray their traditions. The patriarch Maximos loyally recognizes that Orientals set a very bad example to their Orthodox brethren when they resign themselves to seeing nothing but the rites of the East respected, without regard to its other riches, spiritual, artistic and institutional, and without care for their preservation for the benefit of the whole Church.

'Other obstacles to unity can often be attributed to Eastern Catholics: too often we lose contact with our Orthodox brethren; at other times we pointlessly put ourselves at a distance from them. Likewise there is our numerical inferiority, which often corresponds to a spiritual poverty because we have lost touch with the spiritual values of the East.' Lastly there is the proselytism of those to whom Orthodoxy appears only as 'a field for conversion'. But in acting thus we are not following our vocation. Whereas, if we are faithful to it, 'we have the most valuable and unique advantages in our hands. The first of these is acute awareness of the evil that division represents: we suffer in our spirit, flesh and heart from the division of Christians. Christ's desire at the Last Supper constrains us. We are of the same race as our Orthodox brothers, the same tongue, the same mentality. We are brothers in the full meaning of the word. Union would only be for us a family reconciliation, not a humiliating submission, not an avowal of guilt.'

It is entirely normal that some Orthodox should oppose any readiness for union because it seems to them that every move of this sort marks the beginning of disruption (*disaggregation*). It is not easy for them to realize that, withdrawing into their own spiritual riches, they close themselves to a further increase of riches.

'There is only one kind of person who can understand and love

those communities which hesitate at the prospect of union. It is those who have themselves had the courage to pay the price in their own person and to precede the others whom they love on the way which we must all sooner or later take, so as to find again fully the truth of Christ.'

This does not mean that we forerunners have done any better than they. We have obeyed a call of grace, even if this call was sometimes crucifying. It is not for us to judge what the manifold grace of God inspires in our brethren, and we are aware that reconciliation between the Catholic and Orthodox hierarchies is the normal path of Christian reunion.

Twentieth-century Russian Catholics have desired to be witnesses in the West of the Christian East, and have sought by their prayers, their sufferings and their efforts to hasten the achievement of unity in Christ.

There is no question that Vladimir Soloviev is the father of Russian Catholic ideology. Those of our compatriots who were reconciled with the Church of Rome in the first half of the nineteenth century, such as Mme Swetchine, Golitzin, Martinov, Gagarin, N. Narishkin, Shuvaloff, etc. generally came under the influence of some Western personality who led them to knowledge of the Church in its Latin form. Their link with Orthodoxy had been, in general, rather weak, and some of them had even at times abandoned all religious practice. It is easy to understand that in these circumstances the discovery of the Latin Church had a preponderant influence on their religious life; they became attached to it with the absoluteness which characterizes Russians. They retained a great love of their country and a burning desire to see the bonds of communion with Rome renewed. They made every endeavour to awaken the West to the problem of Christian unity and of the Christian East, but their personalities were not strongly marked by Oriental Christianity.

Soloviev was the first to seek the solution of the problem by preserving intact the whole inheritance both of Orthodoxy and of the Roman Church, and by showing their point of convergence in the unity willed by Christ. He showed that the barrier erected between the Christian East and West could be demolished without giving up the age-old traditions that are part of the sacred legacy of the universal Church. He affirmed that the whole of Catholic doctrine was contained in Orthodoxy: 'Our religion, so far as it is

shown in the faith of the people and in the liturgy, is entirely orthodox.' The Russian Church, in so far as she has preserved the truth of the faith, apostolic succession, and the plenitude of the sacraments, participates in her essence in the unity of the universal Church founded by Christ. As to the erroneous views professed by certain hierarchs and theologians and their hostile attitude towards Rome, he considered them as a sin against Orthodoxy in its dogmatic, liturgical, and canonical reality. Moreover the Russian Church had never been juridically separated from Rome, and the separation of the churches had been juridically abolished at the Council of Florence. Never had a council of the Orthodox Churches justified by a doctrinal restatement the rupture which was later produced *de facto*. If certain Orthodox writers affirm that the Catholic Church has fallen into heresy, others, more competent and of greater authority, such as the Metropolitan of Kiev, Mgr Platon, declare publicly that the Eastern and Western Church are twin sisters, separated only by misunderstandings. And what is still more remarkable, in the year 1839, when the Catholic Ruthenians were forced to enter into the dominant church in Russia, no abjuration of their Catholic faith was demanded of these people.

It is interesting to notice that Soloviev's ideas have been called 'the over-early harbinger of a tardy spring', and according to Berdyaev, the martyr and prophet of unionism, they were 'quite unusual at this time'. With time their influence has only increased. Thus, for example, Mgr Rupp wrote in his commentary on the Apostolic Letter of Pius XII to the peoples of Russia, *Sacro Vergente Anno*:¹ 'It is very moving to see that some of Soloviev's theses are in the same line as *sacro vergente anno*'. Citing the pontifical text which explains that the separation was due to 'historical vicissitudes', and can only be imputed in the most general manner to the Slav peoples, Mgr Rupp adds that 'the heart of Soloviev should leap for joy in the tomb'! There was, in effect, a tendency to consider the separation with the East as a formal schism, which according to St Thomas' definition implies the idea of a personal sin committed against the legitimate authority of the Church and its unity.² This makes union all the more difficult since Oriental Christians do not accept this way of seeing things, and, having inherited this state of separation, feel in no way responsible. The conclusions of those theologians who have studied the history of the schism in these last

¹ In the weekly, *France-Catholique*, Oct. 1952.

² *Summa Theol.* II, 2, Quest. 39, Art. I.

decades are nearer to Soloviev than the views expressed by the theologians of his own day. Père Jugie, for instance, has expressed serious doubts on the juridical validity of the Eastern schism,³ and Père Congar, in *900 Ans Après*⁴ defines the situation as an estrangement and not as a formal schism. Moreover at Rome too, the Holy Father, John XXIII, has characterized the work of reunion as a reconciliation, and the terms *heretic* and *schismatic* were avoided in the preparatory work of the council. Soloviev's way of reconciliation with Rome – returning to communion with Rome while staying in one's own Church – can certainly not be made general nor officially approved. However, this method has been applied in the case of certain Orthodox priests who when they recognized the universal authority of the Sovereign Pontiff commemorated him in the liturgy while remaining in their parish.

The solution which Soloviev proposed for the unity of Russia with the universal Church dominates the religious path of twentieth-century (Russian) Catholics and could exercise an increasing influence in ecumenical circles. In effect Soloviev has found, if one may say so, the *eternal principle of reconciliation in Christ*; to achieve unity he is anxious to require recognition of the papacy, founded upon Peter and carried on by his successors which actually corresponds to the divine will and is of divine right. But he distinguishes clearly between the bishop of the universal Rome and the patriarch of the West, and asserts that the full weight of centralization and uniformity of the ecclesiastical power that has grown up within the limits of the Latin Church cannot justly be imposed upon us.⁵ He distinguishes papacy from papalism, that is to say too human an idea of authority and in general of Christian truth, not in the doctrine of the Roman Church, but in its concrete application to life. On the other hand Soloviev was anxious that there should be no abandonment nor underestimation of the positive elements, the gifts of God received outside the Catholic communion. Thus he acknowledged in the Orthodox Church all the reality of grace, all the elements of truth which viewed in this way makes it a member of the Universal Church, while the erroneous views that some of its representatives profess should be abandoned and cannot properly be attributed to it. His discrimination in separating the essential from the inessential, the pearl of the Gospel from 'Byzantine dust',

³ *Le Schisme byzantin*, Paris, 1931.

⁴ Ed. de Chevetogne, 1954.

⁵ Soloviev's letter to Mgr Strossmeyer, bishop of Bosnia, 1886.

makes possible the application of this method to cases other than the Russian Church. In the same way amongst Anglicans and Protestants reconciliation in Christ sometimes seems difficult to the best among them because they fear to lose their own treasures by union with Rome. If, on the contrary, they were sure that they would be maintained and 'universalized' in *the true universal Church of Christ where every positive element has its place*, the greatest obstacle to union would disappear for them.

Together with Soloviev we should pay tribute to a very remarkable figure in the Russian Catholic movement, Princess Elizabeth Volkonskaya, who studied church history in the original sources and published two works: *Concerning the Church and Russian Ecclesiastical Tradition and Theological Literature*. These books are still of value now because they are so well argued, rich in source material, and penetrating in their analysis of texts. Soloviev acknowledges her as 'a Russian woman of rare strength of spirit and rightness of heart, an amazing energy and a soul that is burning with the desire for truth.' Her thought was based solely on truly orthodox material. The chief witnesses and defenders of truth in her writings were always the Fathers of the Eastern Church.

Of the same lineage was Michael Gerebtsoff, a magistrate of St Petersburg, who also made a deep study of Church history.

The influence of Soloviev was considerable amongst young intellectuals in Moscow. Mostly, like Berdyaev and Merejkowski, they did not adopt his whole position. Only some, notably Fr Nicolas Tolstoy, Novsky, Balashoff, who gave us the best translation of *La Russie et l'Eglise universelle*,⁶ and the young jurist John Deubner, were brought to reconciliation with Rome under the influence of his ecclesiology.

Tolstoy abandoned his military career as a young officer to become a student at the Moscow Theological Academy. Here he worked particularly on patrology and the history of the Councils. On his initiative, a study circle on Catholic philosophy was founded at the Academy. He was ordained in 1893, and in 1894 went to Rome, where he was received by Pope Leo XIII, before whom he made his profession of Catholic faith. On returning to Russia he was much harassed by Pobedonostzev, the public prosecutor, who instituted proceedings against him. He had to emigrate but was able

* Originally written by Soloviev in French.

to return to Russia two years later, and on February 18th, 1896 brought Soloviev into communion with the Catholic Church. He was always a zealous defender of Eastern traditions, and retained close ties of friendship with numerous Orthodox priests.

In 1896 Alexis Zertchaninov, parish priest of the village of Borissovo, became a Catholic. He was the son of an Orthodox priest and brought up in the atmosphere of a family which had preserved the best religious traditions. He did his studies at the seminary of Nijni-Novgorod, and gave up the chance of pursuing them further at the Academy so that he could give himself to pastoral activity immediately. As the sects had very numerous adherents in the diocese, he set himself to study zealously the doctrine of the Orthodox Church according to primary sources, such as patristics, the history of the councils, and liturgy. In this way, with no external influence, he came to recognize Rome as the universal centre of Christianity. He felt obliged to make these conclusions known to his superiors, which gained him several years of solitary confinement, during which he wrote the book *The Kingdom of God in the World*, which bears the sub-title: *Compilation of material read by a village dilettante*. He was set free in 1900, thanks to the steps taken by Natalia Uchakova, a relative of the minister Stolypin, and disciple of Princess Volkonskaya, who was one of the chief promoters of Russian Catholicism in the twentieth century. A cultivated woman, and deeply attached to her church and country, she had used all her strength and resources to bring into being a Russian Catholic parish in St Petersburg. The manifesto of 1905, which granted liberty of cult and conscience, made it possible to put her plan into effect.

One should emphasize that this infant Russian Catholic cell was encouraged at the time by the Latin Catholic clergy.

In 1907 Fr E. Soussalev, an Old Believer priest from the Moscow neighbourhood, was reconciled with the Catholic Church. He came under the hierarchy of the Old Believers of Bielokrinitza, whose validity was in dispute. His case was submitted to Pope Pius X, who set up a special commission to examine it, and recognized the validity of his ordination. This had important consequences for the relations between Old Believers and the Catholic Church.

In 1909 the Russian Catholic chapel was set up in the flat where Fr Zertchaninov lived (in Polozova Street), but there was still no authorization from the civil authorities. The first liturgy was celebrated at Easter, 1909. On this occasion a telegram signed by Fr

Soussalov was sent to the Emperor: 'On the glorious (luminous) feast of the Resurrection of Christ, we, the Old Believers in communion with the Holy Roman and Apostolic See, offer prayers to the Most High for the good estate of your Imperial Majesty and of the Crown Prince.' There was an immediate reply: His Majesty was grateful for the prayers of the Old Believers in communion with Rome. In this way the parish's right to exist was in fact recognized. When the police, noticing the gathering, enquired about what authorization it had received, the precious telegram was produced and the police went away discomfited. From 1905 the Old Believers had in fact the rights of citizenship in Russia, and the government made no distinction between the different groups into which they were divided.

This chapel was also used by Fr Deubner. He belonged to a family of lawyers, and, under the influence of Soloviev's ideas, became interested in Catholic theology and finally wished to be reconciled with Rome. He found that he had too ardent and apostolic a nature to remain content with his official duties alone, and was secretly ordained priest by the Metropolitan Szepticki in Galicia. Little by little he began to find his legal functions an obstacle to his interior life, and, to the astonishment of his superiors, he asked for a post far away in Siberia, where he could reconcile his official duties with a deepening of his theology and spirituality. After the revolutionary events of 1905, he openly declared himself a Catholic and came back to St Petersburg where he took an active part in the work of the Catholic nucleus with Fr Zerchaninov and N. Uchakova. Having begun to preach at the Russian Catholic chapel, he could no longer hide his priesthood, and he realized that he must resign his legal duties. By a personal decision the emperor granted him the pension to which he had not yet the right, and he was thus able to contribute to the needs of his family and pursue his apostolate.

In spite of numerous difficulties, the Russian Catholic chapel in St Petersburg became a lively centre of influence. We have not yet reached the period when minds became more open to the problem of Christian unity: the Latin clergy of the capital, convinced of the *praestantia latinitatis*, tried to restrain the development (of the parish), and to push it towards a degree of Latinization.

It is now time to speak of the man who became the spiritual head of the Russian Catholic community in St Petersburg: Mgr Leonid Fedorov. Born in 1879 in the capital, he completed his classical

studies and entered the theological Academy. As a result of his reading, his interest in the problems of unity and reunion with Rome developed, especially through the study of the Greek Fathers and the Councils. After two years in the Academy, he went to the rector to tell him that he wished to leave. His reception was friendly: 'I know where you are going,' the rector told him, 'and may the blessing of God go with you.'

Fedorov then went to continue his studies in Italy, first at Anagni and then in Rome, at the Propaganda Fidei, but after troubles with the Russian embassy, he finished his studies at Fribourg. His spiritual father was Mgr Szepticki, Metropolitan of Galicia and Archbishop of Lwow. After his ordination on March 25th, 1911 by the Bulgarian bishop, Mgr Mirov, he spent three years in Lwow where he became a Studite monk and secretary to Mgr Szepticki, taking part in the congress of Velegrad for Christian unity. When war broke out, he thought it his duty to return to Russia, but he was suspected of being a separatist agent of Mgr Szepticki, and was soon arrested and sent to Siberia.

It was only in March 1917 that he was able to return to St Petersburg as a result of the amnesty granted by the provisional government. Mgr Szepticki was also freed. In 1907 and 1908 the latter had been granted extraordinary powers by Pius X to be the administrator for all Russian Catholics and to organize the Russian Catholic Exarchate. He now called together at St Petersburg the first Russian Catholic council, which was attended by all the Russian Catholic priests, some Polish Latin bishops, and Russian and Polish laymen. It was then that Mgr Szepticki made Mgr Feodorov his delegate and exarch for the whole of Russia. Very severe measures were taken at this council to put a stop of all attempts at Latinization. The second objective was the *rapprochement* with the Orthodox clergy: brotherly relations with them must exclude all political meddling.

The results of this orientation were immediate: in the principle centres of Russia the Orthodox gladly responded to the invitation of the Eastern Catholics. Congresses were organized, conferences and study circles, in which representatives of the Orthodox clergy took part with the blessing of the patriarch Tikhon. The exarch was an excellent speaker, a remarkable apologist, and an expert in the problems of church history. In his expositions there was always a conciliatory element which increased their success. He was also a zealous defender of Eastern traditions: 'Only those who become Catholic of Eastern rite are the true seed of future union. They

carry a heavy cross through the hail of mockery and reproaches, as much from the Orthodox as from their Latin brethren; but gradually their existence shows Russia the spirit of universality of the Catholic Church'.

At St Petersburg there was founded under the exarch's authority an order of women, The Holy Family, a community in honour of the Holy Spirit, and the Society of St John Chrysostom.

Excellent relations were established between the exarch and the Orthodox clergy under the direction of the Metropolitan Benjamin of St Petersburg. Many societies were created, such as the group 'Universal Church Reunion', which was begun by Orthodox officers. The Chairman was Count Zuboff. Mgr Leonid belonged to it, and at the first meeting gave a talk on faith and knowledge. He showed that before examining the separation in the light of history it was essential to get to know each other in the spirit of love and truth, as was done at the congress of Velegrad. The society set itself a programme of study of the philosophical and religious problems that are at the foundations of Christianity; of defining the true teaching of the Church and of the other Christian confessions; of bringing into relief the historical causes of the division of the churches and the possibility of achieving union; and of spreading the idea of the unity of Christ's Church.

They issued a manifesto emphasizing the necessity of the union of Christians so as to fulfil Christ's will, and affirming their faith in the power of Christ, Head of the one Church, who is able to deliver us from the evil of division if we collaborate with Him in a common effort. The eternal truths of Christianity and the historical problems of division should first be studied by specialists in a calm and charitable spirit but then be made available to every Christian. The manifesto ends with this undertaking: 'In the name of Christ, in the name of the Holy Spirit, we will all carry out the difficult task of pioneer work, straining towards one goal, the reunion of the churches.'

A similar association, 'The Society of Promoters of Church Unity', was founded in 1917 at St Petersburg in the presence of Mgr Szepticki. It inaugurated collaboration between Orthodox and Catholics. The meetings took place at St Petersburg or at Moscow, under the presidency of Prince Volkonsky and later of Prince Obolensky. Another Society, that of St Josaphat, set itself as its chief objective the publication of Russian Catholic literature.

At the same time as these developments in St Petersburg, a

reunion movement took shape at Kiev, organized as an 'Association of St Leo the Great' (St Leo, Pope of the Council of Chalcedon, has always been greatly venerated in the East). It was organized by Fr Alexander Strelnikov, professor of theology and parish priest of the Orthodox church of St George. Professors of theology of Kiev, Orthodox priests, Catholic priests of Eastern rite and one of Latin rite, belonged to this association. Mgr Alexis, Vicar General of Kiev, gave it his sympathetic encouragement. Its members undertook to promote unity by prayer and action. The associates met every Thursday, in a church whose rector was a member, for a special ceremony which might be called 'Eucharistic Vespers'. The Host, the seed of union, as Fr Deubner called it, 'kindled the zeal of souls and gave men of good will that harmony which it signifies.' The Royal Doors were open and the canon of communion was sung. Then an Acathistos to the Blessed Sacrament, framed between two sermons, one dogmatic, the other moral or ascetic, about the Eucharist and Christian unity. One of the means of sanctification most recommended was the practise of frequent confession. Some of the lay members felt the birth of a priestly vocation. One of these wished to have the Patriarch Tikhon's blessing on his intention, telling him at the same time that he belonged to the society intended to promote union. 'I cannot take part officially myself,' said the prelate, 'but I am with you wholeheartedly and give you my blessing.'

This unionist movement also developed in the diocese of Kursk, while in the province of Karkhov the entire Orthodox parish of Bogdanovka was reconciled with Rome together with its parish priest, the hiero-monk Potapy Emelianov. The latter belonged to a family of Old Believers, called *Bezpopovtsy*, that is to say they did not recognize the hierarchical structure of the church. They were converted to Orthodoxy by Mgr Antony Krapovitsky, who had the child educated in a monastery, and then let him follow a course of pastoral studies. The young Potapy read much of the Fathers of the Church and became enthusiastic about Christian unity. The texts of the Fathers in support of the Popes struck him most of all. While those around him showed a certain hostility to Catholics, he himself, without knowing any personally, gradually came to recognize the authority of Rome. After being ordained at the age of 22, he was nominated by Mgr Antony, parish priest of Bogdanovka, a small town of 50,000 inhabitants. He was an excellent preacher, much loved by his parishioners; people even came to hear his sermons from other places around. He liked to preach about the Church, the

apostle Peter, and the necessity of unity in the Church. At the end of a year his parishioners decided with one accord to be reconciled with Rome together with their pastor. The latter then sought out a representative of the Catholic clergy through whom he heard that a Russian Catholic exarch was about to be elected at St Petersburg. The whole parish was overjoyed at this news, and asked Fr Potapov to go to St Petersburg. The exarch submitted him to an examination, and decided that he and his parish could be admitted to communion with Rome.

The unionist movement developed even better in Moscow because the patriarch Tikhon was friendly to it. It was not only intellectual circles which showed interest in the movement, but also the middle classes of Moscow, thanks to contacts established with the Russian Catholic parish of the Nativity of the Virgin, which was very faithful to the Eastern spirit, whose rector was Fr Abrikossov; and also with the Dominican convent founded by Mother Abrikossov.

Vladimir Abrikossov and his wife, both natives of Moscow, had studied at Cambridge. They were no more than nominal Orthodox, but as a result of their contacts and reading in the West they discovered Christianity in its Latin form. They were received into the Catholic Church in Paris in 1908 and 1909 respectively, and wrote to Pius X expressing the desire to adopt the Latin rite, but he asked them to keep their Eastern rite. They returned to Moscow at the end of 1909, and their home soon became a centre for the study of the problems of Church unity. In particular Mme Abrikossov had a great influence over a whole group of young girls from intellectual circles, who, one after the other, decided to be reconciled with Rome. Because of family difficulties they came to live with the Abrikossovs, and thus a group was formed, later to become the nucleus of the Oriental Dominican Community. Grace worked well in this fervent milieu. Fr Abrikossov became a priest and his wife founded the community of Dominican Tertiaries in August, 1917. This community was affiliated to the main body of Dominicans in 1923. The sisters gave themselves to works of mercy and teaching. In 1920 there were already twenty of them.

At the beginning of 1920 there was a secession among the Orthodox clergy, encouraged by the Marxists: it adopted the name 'Movement of Renovation'. Thereupon the faithful among the hierarchy and laity wished to demonstrate their fidelity to the patriarch and to send a delegation to him for his patronal feast of

St Alexis. To underline the importance of this gesture they wanted to associate with it a representative of the Catholic Church. The parish priest Sakharov, who was a member of the organizing committee, suggested that it would be better to ask Fr Abrikossov rather than a Polish priest and asked him to come with some of his parishioners. Fr Abrikossov accepted the invitation and came accompanied by two of his parishioners, Alexandrov and Balachof. They had decided to offer the patriarch an illuminated copy of the prayer of Benedict XIV for Christian unity. At the audience the patriarch approached them first and Fr Abrikossov expressed his joy at offering his homage to him, and his hope for a fruitful development in the work of reconciliation. He gave an account of the efforts of the Roman Pontiffs to make the Christian East better known. The Patriarch replied that he shared these sentiments and prayed constantly for the work of unity and encouraged the Orthodox clergy to work for a rapprochement with Catholics.

There were both negative and positive results of this audience: soon after, undoubtedly because they had been denounced, a search was made both at the patriarch's residence and at Fr Abrikossov's. The latter was called before the communist authorities and accused of transmitting to the patriarch a secret letter from the Pope against the government. Fr Abrikossov showed them the text of the prayer and succeeded in convincing the minister of ecclesiastical affairs of his innocence. He was released but the vigilance of the secret police redoubled.

As to the positive consequences of this visit to the patriarch, the latter's words, pronounced on a solemn occasion, witnessed to his goodwill about the problem of Christian unity, and gave a directive for collaboration with Catholics. The beginnings were promising. The trend towards union (with the Catholic Church) showed itself particularly among the older clergy, while the young priests were more concerned with Protestantism. The older priests saw the need to unite, better to resist the danger of atheism (the government had already forbidden the religious instruction of the young under eighteen), the development of Protestant sects, and the unwarranted interference of the laity in ecclesiastical affairs.

Preoccupied with all these problems, the Orthodox clergy took the initiative. Soon after the visit to the patriarch, Fr Abrikossov received a visit from a delegate of a group of Moscow parishes inviting him to a meeting in order to discuss the possibility of a rapprochement between the Catholic and Orthodox churches. The

first meeting took place at the house of the lay community of St Martha and Mary, under the chairmanship of Bishop Hilarion, the right hand man of the patriarch, with some forty representatives of the Orthodox clergy and a few laymen. The introductory discourse was pronounced by the bishop in the name of the patriarch. Fr Abrikossov spoke for the Catholics. There were objections, especially from one Orthodox priest who claimed that there was no unanimity in the Catholic Church on the subject of unity. Meanwhile the great majority wished these meetings to continue. At the next meeting the exarch set forth the reasons warranting the adhesion of the Russians to Rome. The problem of a group of Catholics of Czechoslovakia, who had joined the Orthodox Church with their bishop, was then raised, and the exchange of views failed to develop in a friendly atmosphere. It was then decided to organize meetings of smaller groups between people better prepared. From then on the meetings took place regularly at the Dominican convent, and some constructive work was done.

From 1922 onwards the Soviet authorities regarded these meetings with no kindly eye because they seemed to them to be organizing a united front with the Western bourgeoisie, and several of those favouring the rapprochement were exiled or sent to concentration camps. All the Dominican sisters suffered the same fate.

The exarch was ordered to appear before the supreme court in Moscow on March 5th, 1923, at the same time as the Polish bishop, Mgr Cieplak, and his clergy. The trial lasted five days. Mgr Feodorov showed great nobility. He conducted his own defence, and when reading his replies we seem to hear the echo of the voices of the early martyrs. His phrase, 'Although we submit ourselves sincerely to the Soviet authority, we regard it as a chastisement of God for our sins', went the rounds of Moscow. He paid for his heroism with ten years of prison. Sent to Solovki, he met again some Orthodox prelates and went on with his work for unity. But the imprisonment broke his strength and he died two years after his release.

That is how this first nucleus that seemed so promising, perished in the storm of persecution. We firmly believe that their sacrifice will be fruitful for the cause of Christ and his Church.

IN THE EMIGRATION

In 1922 several of the intellectuals concerned with unity were exiled from Russia and arrived in Berlin where they organized a

new association for Christian unity. Dimitri Kusman Karavaiev, jurist and converted Marxist, later a priest, played an important part in this group. It was under his aegis that the 'Society of Promoters of understanding between the Churches' was created.

A certain number of clergy and intellectuals carried out work for Christian unity in various countries. Among them one should mention first Mgr Evreinov and his work in Paris and Rome, and Mgr Meletieff, who, after spending years in Soviet concentration camps, represented for several years [died 19 May 1962] in the West both the 'Church of Silence' and the Eastern Church. His young confrère, Mgr Katkoff, well known for his eirenic spirit, represents Russian Catholics at the Vatican Council.

Some distinguished religious in Rome and elsewhere have played their part in making the Christian East known in Western university circles, at the same time as working with their compatriots. In Rome Fr Tyshkiewicz has published with unwearying zeal a whole series of works in Russian with the object of making known the true face of the Catholic Church. His confrère, Fr Kologrivov, has spread a knowledge of the Christian East by his lectures and publications, such as *Russo-Orthodox Christianity*, and an important work on the Russian saints, where, with great breadth of view, he uses Orthodox hagiographical material.

A name still better known in ecumenical circles is that of Dom Clement Lialine, of the Chevetogne monastery, who was for many years editor of *Irénikon*, in which he developed his 'eirenic method'. We owe him pages of deep penetration, as, for example, *L'Action de l'Orthodoxie*, in *Qu'est-ce que l'Orthodoxie?* Some people found his attitude paradoxical, because he was a Benedictine of Latin rite: in reality this attitude was dictated by respect for Oriental liturgical life. In his opinion it could not be lived with all its fullness in the West, and he felt that he could live his monastic life better by entering into the natural stream of Western traditions.

We should single out also Mgr Sipiaguine, a parliamentary deputy before the revolution and then a professor in Saratov seminary. In exile he was first director of the Russian school in Constantinople, then at Namur, and finally professor in Rome. He left us writings in French and Russian. In French he contributed to *Irénikon* with, for instance, *Aux sources de la pieté russe*, and in Russian he left us articles and pamphlets steeped in his deep devotion to the successor of Peter, and his burning faith in the spiritual resurrection of Russia.

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A certain number of clergy and intellectuals carried out work for Christian unity in various countries. Among them one should mention first Mgr Evreinov and his work in Paris and Rome, and Mgr Meletieff, who, after spending years in Soviet concentration camps, represented for several years [died 19 May 1962] in the West both the 'Church of Silence' and the Eastern Church. His young confrère, Mgr Katkoff, well known for his eirenic spirit, represents Russian Catholics at the Vatican Council.

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Mgr Sipiagin, together with Fr Volkonsky, author of a work of fundamental importance, *Le Catholicisme et la tradition sacrée de l'Orient*, played an important role in the assembly of Russian Catholic priests gathered in Rome in 1930. On this occasion they came to a whole series of practical conclusions about purity of rite, the need of avoiding Latinization, and the usefulness of publishing liturgical books in a uniform and genuinely Eastern edition. This edition came into existence through a decision of the Congregation of the Eastern Church. It was prepared under the direction of Fr Korolevsky and is now used not only by Catholic but also by a number of Orthodox priests.

Some Russian lay professors have also stimulated interest in the Christian East in university circles. One example is Viatcheslav Ivanov, poet and writer of learning, a disciple of Soloviev, who became a Catholic in the crypt of the tomb of St Peter in the basilica by reading the profession of faith made by Soloviev in *Russia and the universal Church*. There were others, such as Prof. M. Taube, a very learned historian who studied the relations between Rome and Russia in the period before the Mongol invasions. Then there was Ivan Pouzina, who founded a Russian scientific institute in Berlin and in Paris, and taught in the Institut Catholique in Paris. Michael Gavrilov also took up Soloviev's ideas in his course on Orthodoxy given to the Circle of St John the Baptist in Paris, in his articles and in numerous lectures in Paris and abroad. We might also mention the activity of Fr Bock, s.j., who died in February 1962, at the Russian Centre at Fordham University in New York, and of Fr Urusov, s.j. at San Francisco, of Professor Denissov at Notre Dame University in the United States, and of Fr Kulik, who organized an institute for Russian studies in the Argentine, and is now Consultor for Russian problems at the Eastern congregation in Rome. Then one must certainly not omit the admirable work of Catharine Doherty-Kolyshkine, foundress of the 'Friendship Houses' in the United States and Canada; and, from among a whole spate of lay apostolate, the work of Mme Rosanova in the Argentine. We must put limits to this catalogue, while emphasizing the fact that Russian Catholics created everywhere an interest in Christian unity by their very presence, but often by their witness too.

We ought also to say something further about the publications of this period. Among the periodic publications whose object was to

further Church unity, was the unpretentious but very solid monthly review *Slovo Istini* (Word of Truth), which was founded in 1913 at St Petersburg by Fr Deubner. It continued to appear during the war, but did not survive the revolutionary storm. In its preliminary statement of aims this review emphasized the fact that one could only contribute towards the reunion of Christians if one were guided by a spirit of peace and charity according to the gospel, as it inspired Soloviev: 'All that is positive in either Church ought to be preserved. It is the requirement of love which destroys nothing, but builds up everything.' On the other hand, it is the duty of love and of justice that we neither reject nor remain ignorant of the dogmas of the Christian faith professed by Rome. As a matter of fact these truths are not opposed to the dogmas of the Orthodox East. On the contrary, they seem perfectly Orthodox in accordance with the liturgical books, the Eastern Fathers and the acts of the councils. That is why we find that we are in full dogmatic communion with the Catholic Church, completely submissive to its visible head. As to our relations with Orthodoxy, if by this term one means the ensemble of forms and different rites in which Eastern piety is crystallized, it is precisely in this (spiritual) world that we live and work out our salvation. We are sure that union with Rome will give new lustre to Eastern liturgical piety, will vivify it and make it more intense. If one means by *pravoslavie* the dogmas professed by the Eastern Orthodox churches, they should remain even more inviolate through being contained in the plenitude of the Catholic faith. That is why we, as Catholic Christians, at the same time remain and call ourselves Orthodox in life and liturgy. We unite Orthodoxy and Catholicism. One can thus understand why we call our organ 'Catholic Pravoslav'. From all this flows our relationship with our *beloved* Russian nation. We, flesh of its flesh, bone of its bone, live its national religious life; we venerate our historical sanctuaries, and our Russian saints, because all this precious inheritance ought to enter into unity.'

It is easy to see here how strict is the relation with Soloviev, and how, under his influence, these *Catholic pravoslavs* reconciled the principle dear to the Orthodox East of fidelity to their traditions and preservation of the sacred deposit (of faith), with the universalizing of values by adhesion to the centre of unity established by Christ.

After the second world war, Brussels has become an active centre

of publication. This centre was founded by some laymen under the chairmanship of Dom Nève, O.S.B., in close collaboration with Professor and Mrs Morren from Louvain University, with the object of answering to the spiritual needs of the new Russian emigration. The work is done with the collaboration of Orthodox, priests and laymen, who are inspired with the same desire: to rechristianize the Russian emigrés brought up without religion. This will explain why the first periodical of this centre, *Life with God*, was destined for the Orthodox as much as for the Catholics, endeavouring to give them a knowledge of the common basis of Christianity. This principle of collaboration has proved itself both in the publishing work, and in the apostolate in the refugee camps, where we tried to overcome doubts against the faith or to awaken interest in Christianity, without concerning ourselves with their preferences for one or another confession. By this means we have been able to bring effective spiritual help to those who had great need of it, and in addition a climate of sympathy between Catholics and Orthodox has been created.

It is important to note that this line of conduct has been approved by Rome. When the centre wished to publish a Christian manual containing the essentials of doctrine and liturgy, the Sacred Congregation for the Eastern Church gave its permission to omit any reference to doctrinal divergencies while reminding the Catholics of their duty to pray for the Pope. A note in this sense was added to the edition. The Orthodox accepted it readily, and this manual is actually more in demand among Orthodox than among Catholics. Many other publications conceived in the same spirit have been added to these editions. Alongside them we began to publish – by the wish of the Russian Catholic Congress in Rome in 1950 – a periodical review, *Russia and the Universal Church*. This was aimed more especially at the Russian Catholic diaspora.

The principal resolution of this Roman congress was to send a petition to the Holy Father asking for the consecration of Russia to the Most Pure Heart of Mary, as she had desired at Fatima. In 1952 Pope Pius XII replied to this petition by an apostolic letter, *Sacro vergente anno*, in which he laid the foundation for a close collaboration between Eastern and Western Christianity in the common fight against militant atheism in the name of the eternal Christian truths. The extraordinary historic significance of this apostolic letter lies especially in the spirit of universal charity in Christ, in its noble witness for the defence of the sacred and inalienable rights of man to

liberty, dignity and faith, in its condemnation of the Communist system, in the actual religious act of the consecration of Russia, a non-Catholic, but great Christian country, to the Most Pure Heart of the Mother of God, and in the invitation to safeguard our traditions and to resist manfully the assaults of impiety.

From the ecumenical point of view this letter is important because it shows that the Holy Father recognizes as part of his spiritual flock not only the Catholics but the Christians who are separated through no fault of their own. It declares that these faithful were detached from the Apostolic See by the vicissitudes of history and 'if relations gradually became more difficult, through a whole set of adverse circumstances, up to 1448, yet, since we have no document which declares your church to be separated from the Apostolic See, it can certainly not be blamed upon either the Slav peoples or our predecessors.'

Russian Catholics remain deeply grateful to the Sovereign Pontiff for this consecration of their suffering country, which had liked to be called 'The House of our Lady', to her who had always aided Russia in the gravest hours of her history.

The Brussels Exhibition in 1958 was a providential occasion for our centre 'Pro Russia' in Brussels to make Christianity known to a large number of our compatriots from Soviet Russia by distributing among them religious literature, which found a deep response in some of them. The work of the Vatican pavilion also made an excellent opportunity for contacts with the Orthodox clergy and laity.

Working in this way, faithful to our ideal and in our divinely appointed place, we hope that by the grace of God, and under the aegis of the 'pope of unity' par excellence, we shall finally approach our goal. This, in the words of the Patriarch Maximos, is 'a form of union acceptable to the East and the West, neither pure autocephaly, nor absorption in fact or in law, but real communion in the same faith, in the same sacraments, in the same organic hierarchy, with true respect for the whole spiritual patrimony and organization proper to each church, under the vigilant care, at once paternal and fraternal, of the successors of him to whom it was said, "Thou art Peter and upon this rock I will build my Church" '.

SOME RECENT DEVELOPMENTS IN THE ATTITUDE OF CHRISTIANS TOWARDS ISLAM

by Norman Daniel

'THE Musselmans are already a sort of heterodox Christians', said Sir William Jones, expressing in the eighteenth century a mediaeval, and older than mediaeval, Christian attitude. It went with hatred – the view of Islam as a sum of the heresies, 'renewed all at once in Muhammad' – or with gratification: 'Sarasyns beleve so nere our fayth', said Mandeville; or, as an Oxford scholar put it in 1797, they 'want so little of being (in point of belief) literally Christians'. It was long disputed whether Muslims were heretics or not; their opinions about Christ, Abraham, Joseph, Moses, and so on are erroneous; but they are unbaptized, and have no canonical existence. They are more in the position of Jews (and so the canons treated them); but are they in as close a relation to the Church? In any case, they seem to have a special claim on fraternal charity.

We need to see the Christian contribution to Islamic studies since the war in the perspective of nearly fourteen centuries of Christian Islamic studies. Christian polemic (I ignore the unimportant silly legends) has followed certain natural main trends since St John of Damascus, whether in the Greek Church, in the Nestorian, Orthodox or Jacobite Churches under Islamic rule, or in the Latin West. Although the chief European sources for long were Greek, Arabic and Syriac speaking Christians, as well as Jews, supposed Muslim converts and, from the middle of the twelfth century, authentic Islamic writings, this vast polemic literature, written in many Eastern and Western languages over much more than a millennium, is traditional and homogeneous. Since the Renaissance it has been associated with Hebrew and Syriac studies. The ancient hatreds of Islam have survived into our own day, often

very strong still in the most enlightened academic circles, and until recently they dominated Christian scholarship despite the existence of contrary trends.

A limited sympathy with Islam, intended to shame bad Christians, can be instanced in the thirteenth century, but too often the method of Christian attack upon Islam was that which later the Deists and Modernists used in turn against orthodox Christianity. Over a long period, although some writers (on whom Christian faith sat lightly) admired Islam, few earnest Christians saw that they must approach a religion with sympathy, and even liking, in order to study it usefully (there were, of course, social and political reasons for this). Yet there were exceptions, a William of Tripoli or a Mark of Toledo, a Pococke or an Ockley, practising Christians who translated Muslim spiritual writings.

Practical considerations have reinforced theory. Islam has always been seen to be a missionary rival to the Christian Church, claiming the souls of the millions, schismatic of the church of the future even more than of that of the present. In the ecumenical preoccupations of earlier ages – of Lull, Cusa, Segovia, Bodin and Postel – Islam was the divider of men, but Muslims were the victims of division, like the Greeks and Oriental Christians. In the early years of this century, it was often missionary interest, Protestant or Catholic, which promoted explicitly Christian, but unsympathetic, study. Simultaneously, however, in England, France, Spain and later Italy, a growing interest in Islamic mysticism revived the old occasional tradition of sympathy. Since the war the best of the old traditions have prospered.

In the general context of missions there has been more Protestant than Catholic discussion of Islam. This is unsympathetic. 'It is not a question whether Islam is judged with greater or lesser sympathy, but whether it is judged correctly or incorrectly', said Dr Hendrik Kraemer, the great Dutch Reformed comparative religionist, in a report on Indonesian missions written between the wars but republished in 1958. I hope it is not arrogant to question whether it be possible to judge correctly without sympathy; to establish facts and to evaluate them require different parts of the mind. Before the war, Kraemer wrote, 'By stubborn rigidity and pride implied in its being the deification of group solidarity, Islam is a trying religion to converse with'. This emphasis on the group solidarity of Islam is common to many writers, but the dislike of it is peculiar to this school.

Kraemer has influenced J. S. Trimingham, whose series of books on Islam in Africa are written from the point of view of the Evangelical missionary, although most of them are in substance studies in social anthropology. He seeks converts, but 'Missionaries of experience in Muslim work never attempt proselytization. They approach the Muslim as one who needs Christ and to whom they would make Him known.' That is, the missionary attracts Muslims to a fuller life in Christ by living a Christian life among them. Trimingham contrasts the Catholic attitude and the 'principles of Cardinal Lavigerie and Charles de Foucauld', that the time is not ripe for conversions. Here he seems to exaggerate the difference. Catholics also try so to live as to witness to Christ among non-Christians, without proselytization, and, in particular, this is the aim of the Little Brothers of Père de Foucauld. De Foucauld himself acted among the Touareg much as Trimingham recommends – if there is a difference it lies in his un-English fervour. As the Little Brothers have developed, there may be a further difference in point of affection and sympathy. 'The lands of Islam', says Voillaume (they are only one among many interests of his order), 'have also seen Little Brothers come to bear witness to friendship between Christian and Muslim in all sympathy and mutual respect'. Just how far this is true, not only of the Brothers, but of Christians generally, is the crucial question.

Trimingham is practical when he recommends the missionary to live a life and preach a Christianity really intelligible in the social and cultural context of the people he is addressing. And he is certainly right when he advises the avoidance of doctrinal discussion. I have elsewhere maintained that in the middle ages doctrinal argument was primarily a matter of self-persuasion, and I believe this to be true generally. Trimingham's 'phenomenonological study' of the influence of Islam on the customs and morals of pagan converts is often enlightening, but his sense of Islamic solidarity and hostility comes between him and any affection he might feel for Islam. As an observer of facts he is scrupulously just, but he allows his theoretic analysis to take on the tone of disapproval; as when he argues that there is no distinction in Islam between good and evil as such, but only between what God allows and what He prohibits, so that the 'clean' eclipses the 'holy' and there is no essential difference between ceremonial and moral law. This can be argued; but it cannot be said to be the whole truth, and this is where the lack of sympathy shows. In particular it leads Trimingham to speak with

Kraemer of the futility of using those 'half-truths of Islam which have been derived from Judaism or Christianity as points of contact'. He says that 'by becoming a part of the body of Islamic doctrine they belong to a different plane of religious apprehension, whose whole tendency is anti-Christian'; he instances the Quranic Jesus, and the Sufi *logos* doctrine. This is important, and I shall return to it.

I note first the latest developments in the discussion of missions, and, as specimen of a very recent literature, Kraemer's *World Cultures and World Religions: the Coming Dialogue*. His attitude to Islam has been modified by reflection on the other Asian religions; surely it is the correct perspective for Christians that Islam and Judaism – in contrast to Hinduism and Buddhism – are 'historically speaking, a family affair, but one characterized by great tensions and disturbing alienations'. Serious differences exist within a larger agreement. All the religions, and anti-religion, are competing alike for the world's belief. As Trimingham puts it, *tabshir*, evangelization, is identified with *isti'mar*, imperialism, by the accident that both are European activities. To the Hindu, however, Christianity and Islam alike are inherently 'imperialistic' and 'exclusive', and he insists, as prerequisite of discussion, that all faiths are the same, thus requiring us to surrender our essential beliefs before discussion starts. As to Islam, Kraemer will now accept 'the divinization of the Koran and the idealization of the Prophet' as testimony of honest faith, but complains that Muslims put them forward as 'problemless indisputable truth'. Yet is not that to do to Muslims what he objects to the Hindus doing to us all? Kraemer proposes to write about the 'dialogue' between Christianity and each of the great living religions, 'if strength and life are accorded to him', as we pray they will be.

The missionary and academic approaches to Islam are combined in the work of Canon Cragg, whose detailed spiritual assessment of Islam is both realist and sympathetic. In a small book, *Sandals at the Mosque*, the sermon for Muharram, translated from a printed collection, is finely calculated to convey ordinary Muslim religion to the believing Christian reader. The real meeting between Muslim and Christian piety – not the mystics only, but the ordinary practitioners – he illustrates by prayers (e.g. a Shi'ah prayer recalling the Magnificat), typical and authentic on either side. He speaks of what is common to both, 'a vast realm of religious existence – struggles with conscience (albeit differently ordered); fidelity under

temptation; quiet patience under adversity; the tranquillity of reliance upon God in sorrow'. He argues that the Gospel can supply deficiency in the most typically Islamic notions, such as hatred of *shirk* ('association' of what is not God with God).

Of practice, like Trimingham and Voillaume, he says that 'asserting the Gospel is not preaching it', but study is part of living it. A series of papers go out bi-monthly to (among others) missionaries living in Muslim countries. A good example is a recent article 'The Mention of God'. The author considers *dhikr*, 'the mention of God's Name in perpetual mindfulness of His presence and His nature', compares the constant Muslim use of the name of God ('*Allah* would certainly be far and away the leading term in any word count'), searches the Bible ('the whole pattern of recollecting the Divine Name is deeply Semitic') and Qur'an (and the idea that the Qur'an is itself the Reminder); compares the man who knows the Qur'an by heart (*hāfiẓ*) to God, who keeps man (*Allahu hāfiẓ*), as man keeps God's word; and refers to the Sufi *dhikr*, the technique of repetition supported by corporate discipline, and to the extravagant Sufi trust in God. He draws morals for Christians – discipline is a condition of 'mention'; for Christians, *dhikr* of God is *dhikr* of Christ – and raises points for study and discussion that direct attention at Christian and Muslim practice and probe Scriptural concepts. Cragg mingles Qur'an and Scripture to enrich the understanding of both, while maintaining Christian identity (and when necessary he can be sharply critical, as a recent analysis of the Ahmadi movement shows). He is no syncretist.

Another mission worker, Constance Padwick, has published in *Muslim Devotions, A Study of Prayer-Manuals in Common Use*, material she says she would gladly have had at her disposal on arriving in Arabic lands. She quotes so extensively from her sources (analytically by themes) as to reveal a whole world of strange spirituality to a casual reader. She does not give the theological guidance characteristic of Canon Cragg, but her material speaks for itself, and she constantly associates a strange idea with a Christian equivalent. I cannot well exemplify her method, which is the cumulative citation of sources; for example, leading through cognate sayings, each in its place, to Gailani's, on ceaseless *dhikr*, 'The mention of Thee is my badge, and Thy praise my robe' and from that to the use of repetition of the Divine Name by Eastern Christianity, instancing the Jesus Prayer, and quoting the Russian *Way of a Pilgrim*.

None of these works is primarily academic, and the distinction is a precarious one, since the academic works I come now to consider are inspired by Christian zeal. I will take first, unfinished and not wholly successful, Sweetman's *Islam and Christian Theology*. This ambitious history seeks to review all the ideas its title implies. The intention is admirable: 'Just as those who are lost retrace their steps to find where they went astray, we have tried to plot out the road by which Christians and Muslims have come ...' But so many theologians cannot be summarized usefully, or even accurately; and we are given less what Islam has to say for itself than what it has to say in Christian contexts (though a long translation, ibn Miskawaih's *Shorter Theology*, is usefully included). The work is unfinished; the greatest theologians, ibn Sina, ibn Rushd, Aquinas, have yet to come; it lacks the promised critical and constructive review. As it stands, it is not critical, and is too unsystematic to be constructive, but it is a practical guide to further reading. The technique of comparative study of scholasticism was, however, effectively developed by Anawati and Gardet, whose *Introduction à la théologie musulmane* defines the scope and terms of its subject; it brings Christian parallels to illustrate Islamic themes, rather than the other way about, and side by side presents the terms, methods and sources of Christian and Muslim theological discussion.

Islamic theology as it is, and not just as it comes nearest to the Christian, was the object of R. McCarthy, who edited and translated works of that most representative of Muslim writers, al-Ash'ari, less with ecumenic purpose than with the aim of pure scholarship. Less recently, another Jesuit, Chidiac, had published his edition and translation of Ghazali's refutation of the divinity of Christ. Arnaldez' *Grammaire et théologie chez ibn Hazm de Cordoue, essai sur la structure et les conditions de la pensée musulmane* seeks the specifically Islamic (including the anti-Christian polemic). The author's sympathy extends, so to say, to the unsympathetic: 'il a soumis non seulement son coeur – ce qui souvent comporte consolation – mais son intelligence, sa finesse d'esprit, sa vivacité de conception, pour les river à la compréhension des textes'. Here is the real agreement to differ. Then there are books that describe with true and subtle understanding some of the actual problems and difficulties of Muslims – notably Gibb's *Modern Trends in Islam* and 'Abd-el-Jalil's *Aspects intérieurs de l'Islam*.

The study of the great Muslim mystics, which first quickened much Christian sympathy for Islam, has continued. Massignon

brought out a very much fuller edition of the texts of the martyr-mystic al-Hallaj, and of his own great *Essai sur les origines du lexique technique de la mystique musulmane*, the master study of early mysticism. The warmth of Massignon's devotion to al-Hallaj glows behind the magnificent apparatus of scholarship. P. Nwyia published a text of ibn Abbād (Muslim 'precursor of St John of the Cross'). Ghazali, hero of much interest in Islam, received new attention. W. Montgomery Watt published a translation of parts of two works, and a crucial survey of the authenticity of texts. Farid Jabre studied Ghazali's ideas of faith and knowledge, and their psychology, in two books which follow their strictly defined themes through a wide range of notions. Most recently has appeared a new book by Anawati and Gardet - *Mistica Islamica* (an Italian translation from manuscript; the French edition is awaited). Anawati's historical conspectus is more specifically theological than its English equivalent (Arberry's *Sufism*). Gardet's three discussions which follow examine the elements of natural and supernatural mysticism in Islam with the aid of long extracted texts. He concludes provisionally that natural mysticism is a great temptation for Islam, not an approach to the loving God, but a technique of spiritual mastery (though it may have its uses in its proper place). Particularly interesting is the examination of *dhikr* ('method or technique?') and the comparison with the Jesus Prayer (taken in greater detail than by Miss Padwick). The work of R. C. Zaehner of Oxford reaches similar results from the comparative study of Hindu and Muslim mysticism and their possible interrelations. He also publishes long extracted translations from his sources. For the English reader he is easier than the Frenchman. What seems unique in Gardet is the combination of true and heartfelt friendship towards Islam with carefully defined and clearly expounded Catholic theology.

Describing himself as a Christian philosopher who can nourish himself with the data of theology, Gardet is aware of men as well as of ideas. Whereas Kraemer sees the religions in competition for the soul of the world, Gardet in *La Cité Musulmane* examines their contributions to a common culture. He is sharply aware of the point beyond which the Christian can go (and can wish to go) no further; his strength lies in the subtlety of his analysis as well as in the generosity which marks even his unfavourable judgments. A key theme is humanism in Islam. He speaks of that tension between what used to be called fatalism (but is better defined, 'une remise

totale et confiante dans la nuit aux bons vouloirs divins'), and a humanism which is aristocratic, not in the sense of caste, but of the attraction of poor scholars and bourgeois to the courts. The tension is resolved in the spirituality of the Muslim City, which extends to the humblest. Their sense of surrender into the hands of God, their sentiment of the vanity of all creation, which, he believes, are characteristic of the Muslim vision, imply a humanism of the spirit. In his slighter and more popular *Connaitre l'Islam* he proposes three kinds of meeting between Christians and Muslims – in the field of secular culture, in that of social and political activity, and finally in that of the 'valeurs de culture religieuse'. Here he defines the possibilities of religious interchange: while maintaining 'theological discernment' we are bound to exercise intellectual justice and brotherly love, a double requirement which shows us that our own truths have been understood by other people, and expressed through another religious climate.

Gardet has several times made the incidental point that Islam is slowly returning to the attitude of the Prophet which not only tolerates but honours Christians, and that Eastern Christians may now begin to lose their attitude of 'mental émigrés'. All who know them know how bitterly they have felt because Islam over the centuries has allowed them to survive but treated them with contempt. Doubtless this is why understanding of Islam has come first from Occidentals, who have talked with Muslims as guests or masters, with no memory of humiliation; the humiliation has been rather on the Muslim side, from which little understanding of the real Christian position has come (despite many personal friendships). Now we have seen a tranquil assessment of the Christian tradition by a Greek Catholic, P. Khoury. Two Lebanese scholars I have already mentioned. From the Maronite Church, often the most bitter, there have come important signs of true understanding – not least, the practical attitude of the Patriarch, who sees so much further than his flock.

We saw earlier how two writers reject the Islamic 'half-truths', though others realize that these may proffer a good view of some part of truth; and in that sense most truths as we apprehend them are half-truths. The most famous of the 'half-truths' are the Islamic Christ and Mary. In Père 'Abd el-Jalil, the convert who did not turn in revulsion from truths his new faith had shown him more clearly, it was natural to write of 'Marie et l'Islam' with affection. It was much more remarkable in the Maronite priest, Michel Hayek,

who tells us that his first aim was to help destroy the wall of prejudice between the two religions; indeed, he feels that as material relations deteriorate, only a religious understanding can bring us together. He prints Islamic material about Jesus from every source (and much is now available); using a fine collection of illustrations as well, he concentrates the whole Muslim tradition. Christians will not accept the literal truth of a new body of facts about Christ, but a strange picture can stimulate and enrich their ideas of Him. (This is where Trimingham disagrees.) Muhammad Kamel Hussein's *City of Wrong* is a modern Egyptian Muslim's Good Friday novel. Islam is furthest from Christianity in denying the fact of the Crucifixion, yet this outsider's philosophic fiction about faith and conscience and conversion, vivid, exciting and obscure, has more than our own dechristianized writers seem to have to say about men and events surrounding the Crucifixion: it was a Christian, Canon Cragg, who was interested to translate this book, as he says, about the *intention to crucify* (in which Christians and Muslims believe alike).

We have heard much of Islamic group solidarity and sense of community. W. Montgomery Watt, author of a two volume life of Muhammad described by a French reviewer as 'une explication marxiste de l'origine de l'Islam par un ecclésiastique épiscopalien', has certainly stressed that some correlation between ideas and economic factors exists (although he has also stressed the specifically religious character of Muhammad's revelations). What may loosely be called a 'marxist' interpretation of Islamic origins can be traced to the Middle Ages; and Watt does not apply to Islam what he is not prepared to apply to religion in general, although himself an active apologist for the Christian faith. Now his *Islam and the Integration of Society*, responding to the reviewer's challenge, studies the relation of religious ideas to social factors in Islam, as a specimen of the social concomitants of religion generally. He believes that society accepts new ideas with new social forms but that the detailed correlation is incalculable and adventitious. Incidentally to this thesis he illuminates the Christian idea of Islam. Dr Watt believes that when Islam claims to be a universal religion, or that Muhammad's revelations gave knowledge of historical events (e.g. that Christ was not crucified), it is using a system of religious ideas to deceive itself. But he thinks that it can reasonably claim that 'Muhammad is a charismatic religious leader within the Abrahamic tradition', and to be parallel to Judaism and Christianity,

because it represents that tradition in a manner comprehensible to Orientals. He believes that though the Latin and Greek Churches came to agree on the equivalence of their terms, especially for the Trinity, this never happened in the case of Syriac, Armenian and Coptic speakers. Thus Islam is co-heir in the realm of ideas to those Eastern churches which historically lost so many of their sons to Islam.

I should like to stress two points. First, that 'charismatic' is precisely how Muslims regard their Prophet. For long it was the unwillingness to see Muhammad as a charismatic figure that cut Christians off from Muslims. Giulio Basetti-Sani, formerly a Franciscan of the Terra Santa, parallels his devotion to St Francis, another charismatic figure, by bringing the two together. He sees St Francis' adventure with Islam (which a less enthusiastic narrator will incline to consider slight) as a culmination of the whole history of the Islamic awareness of Christians. For him, St Francis fulfilled what Muhammad sought, and the Night Ascension (*mi'raj*) of Muhammad was achieved on Mount Alvernia. He can actually speak of the substitution of the Poverello for Muhammad.

Secondly, there can be said to be a place for Islam in the Judaeo-Christian tradition. How Watt will define this, we do not yet know, though he promises that he will do so; meantime we have two slightly eccentric Catholic views. Basetti-Sani points out that Islam needs explaining; how can we believe that prophetic messages began again after the coming of the Messiah? Yet the extraordinary success of Islam implies a problem (a paradox and a scandal) impossible to elude. The abbé Ledit speaks of the possibility of prophecy outside the Church in a sometimes extravagant book, *Mahomet, Israël et le Christ*; he, too, has seen a true Abrahamic destiny in the Prophet of the Arabs, and a true encounter with Jesus, that might yet lead Israel back out of infidelity. Like C. Forster, who in 1829 thought that Islam 'shapes the course of things indirectly' to the ends of Christianity, Ledit saw it as the Arabs' as well as the Jews' way of return, and Muhammad's as a true, though not inerrable, prophecy: 'peut-on refuser à Ismaël l'authenticité du charisme qui le ramène dans la bénédiction d'Abraham, en attendant la deuxième hégire qui le conduira, à la suite d'Israël, au sein de la véritable Jérusalem?' – to Jerusalem, too, the qiblah would return. But this is to romanticize: the qiblah is Mecca, and to pretend or fancy otherwise is to deislamicize Islam.

Perhaps the book which seems to extract most spiritual advantage

from the study of Islam is the work of another Maronite priest, Fr Y. Moubarac. His *Abraham dans le Coran* applies the techniques of Western scholarship to the Qur'an while assuming that it is a holy book. The Quranic Abraham fitly represents the point where Islam at its most Islamic can meet Christianity without compromising either. The book analyses the vision of a Muslim who wants to 'interiorize' his faith on the basis of the Quranic texts about Abraham: it recognizes in Islam the 'manuduction' (*huda*) by which God leads man from the first instant of his generation to the final peace; the nothing that exists outside God, 'an asceticism which gives Muhammad an extreme repugnance for everything he comes across that is not God'; the hijrah – 'grande constante de toute vie spirituelle' – of Muhammad which reproduces that of Abraham; the spirituality which is realized primarily in prayer – it is the Quranic Abraham's characteristic, his function, to pray.

I lack space to be thorough. I have ignored important work, for example, A. Guillaume's translation of the classic early life of the Prophet; and I have said nothing of meetings and oral discussions. At least my examples illustrate a quick advance in specifically Christian studies that express a variety of views but certain marked tendencies. It is worth noting that the writers are naturally grouped. Thus six of the books in French here discussed are published in the same series, and many of the English writers share the same background of Anglican missions. Nearly all the authors are ordained priests or pastors, or are connected professionally with the Church. Each has a close personal acquaintance with many Muslims.

Humility, and an open disposition to learn, are common to most, so that even when Muslims do not wish to learn from us (Watt reminds us that they have preferred dechristianized occidentals), Islam is enriching and renewing specifically Christian concepts. Common to all these Christian writers is the determination to see Islam as it really is, and not through the distortion of Christian preoccupations – a realism more often successful now than it used to be. Respect and friendship are more common now than their opposites. A very general preoccupation, the thought of the coming dialogue between the faiths of the world, has invaded Islamic studies from the cognate field of comparative religion; here Islam seems at once the formidable rival that Christians have always thought it, and an ally against the syncretist religions.

The uprush of consciously Christian scholarship has outpaced indifferent and neutral writing, and sympathy is in a fair way to

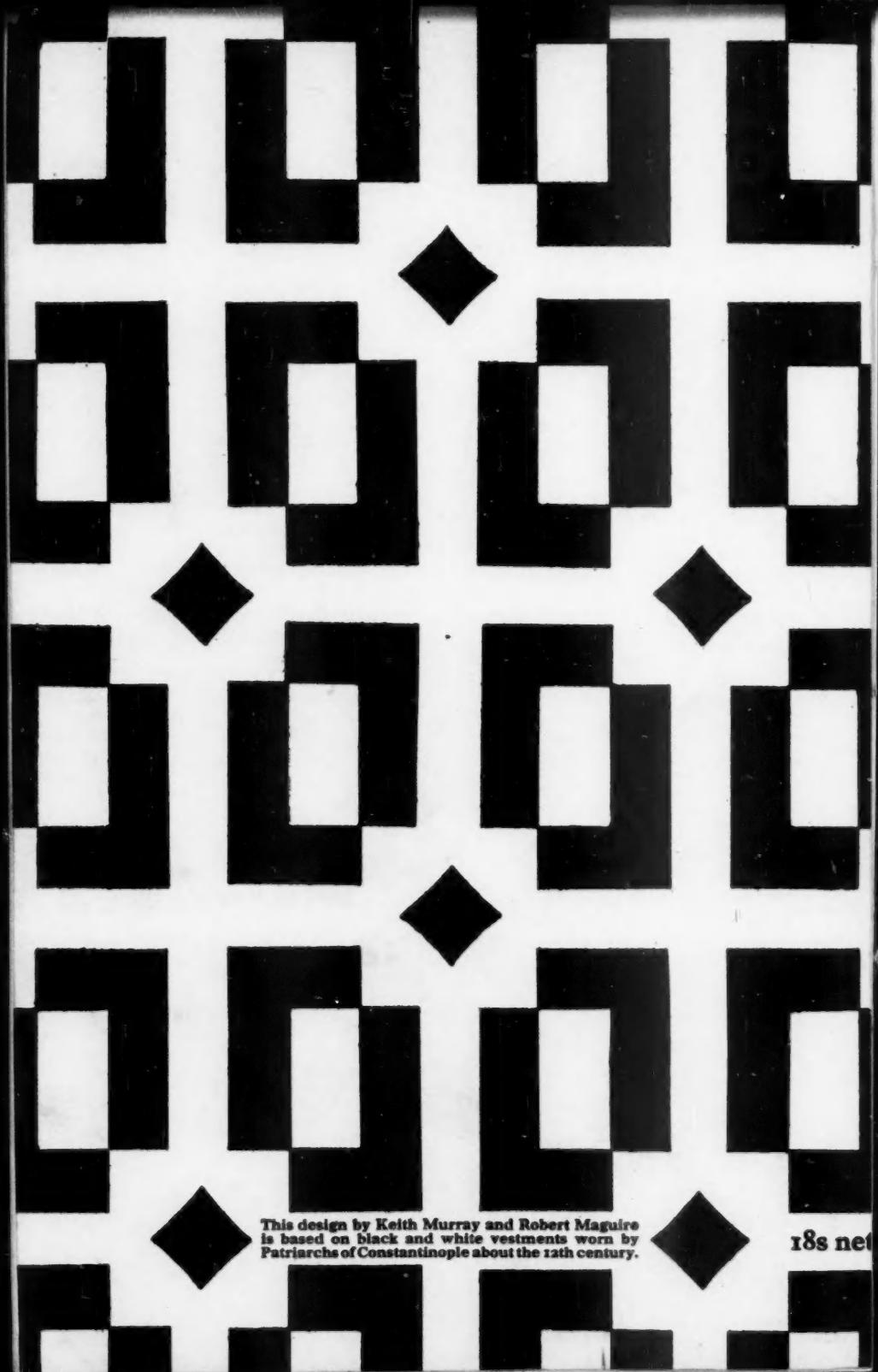
eclipsing hostility. The pure academics did their work well, and the political commentators did theirs not badly. Very much has been discovered about Islam, perhaps more than Muslims wish to admit. But it has all been rather empty, like a lecture hall without students. Now the professing Christians, coming to Islam with greater affection and respect, are producing a new kind of scholarly achievement. The discovery of facts is its own justification; but there is a limit to the facts that any one technique can elucidate. The insights of a believer into another belief, provided he comes in sympathy, are discovering new veins to mine. In time they too will be exhausted, but that time is not yet in sight. The present phase of Islamic studies is in the hands of the active Christian believers.

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